ALASKA IÑUPIAQ SKIN-SEWING DESIGNS –

A PORTAL INTO CULTURAL IDENTITY

By

Amelia Katherine *Ahnaughuq* Topkok, B.F.A.

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Abstract

What it means to be an Indigenous person in the 21st century is a powerful and moving experience, and how we explore our own identity is up to us. Access to differing worldviews through printed literature and academia give a largely non-Indigenous viewpoint and inaccurate impressions of what it means to be "Iñupiaq." Indigenous education programs throughout the world, however, are emerging and emphasize personal views of individuals, creating a window into their worldview. Recognizing these worldviews validate Indigenous knowledge and allows this knowledge to be brought into arenas previously thought to be only relevant through Western knowledge. We all are human; we learn in many different ways, and through relationships and cultural training, we create and redefine our identity through experiential learning. Revealing skin sewers' perspectives of themselves, their values, and ways they express cultural identity is part of my research. Examining personal family history and other sources exploring Iñupiaq perspectives of women (or men if found) and their skin-sewn garments, demonstrates how these garments serve as cultural icons of "being Iñupiaq." Part of their story is learning who their mentors are, how were they influenced by Iñupiaq values, and the role of garments representing identity. There are varying reasons of what it means to be Iñupiaq: ideals, values, and human bonds exist between the creator and the wearer of skin-sewn garments.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my interviewees for being patient with my questions, and for their valuable time. To my father's cousin Katherine *Dollic* Eningowuk for giving her time in reading my work as well as giving me additional views of Shishmaref. To my parents Delano *Naunaq* and Minnie Esther *Saumik* (Onalik) Barr, thank you so much for giving me the desire to learn more, and having persistence in answering my questions about family, experiences of how they learned, and what they saw in their lifetime. They are the link to our older generations, and remind us to learn as much as we can, while we can. To my youngest sister DeeAnn Sophie *Aanauraq* (Barr) Ningeulook, thank you for inspiring me to write about one of our greatest gifts of Iñupiaq skin-sewing. To my committee members Da-ka Mehner, Dr. Alisha Drabek, and my chair Dr. Beth Leonard for giving me encouragement when I really needed the support and their valuable comments and suggestions for my research. I also want to thank the UAF Writing Center and their staff, especially Meryem Udden, for being so helpful in the editing process. And lastly, I would like to thank my husband Sean *Asiqluq* Topkok for helping me articulate ideas, experiences, and pushing me to finish. *Quyana* from the bottom of my heart.

Inupiaq have history, too. History passed on by telling stories. Our stories, they say, are absolutely true. (Barr, quoted by United States National Parks Service, 1996, p. 35)

Chapter One - Introduction

This quote from my paternal *Ataata* (word meaning "grandfather," Kobuk Iñupiaq dialect), Gideon *Kahlook* Barr of Shishmaref and Deering, Alaska, helped me understand the worldview he had during his lifetime about the tradition of sharing stories. He remembers much of his childhood and worked with the National Park Service, on research with his home community *Ublasaun* (and published book of the same name). *Ublasaun* does not exist anymore except as a summer camp, halfway between Cape Espenberg (Northeast on the Seward Peninsula – see Figure 1) and Shishmaref. Gideon's example of sharing his cultural knowledge with outside entities in complete trust helped direct my research efforts to view skin-

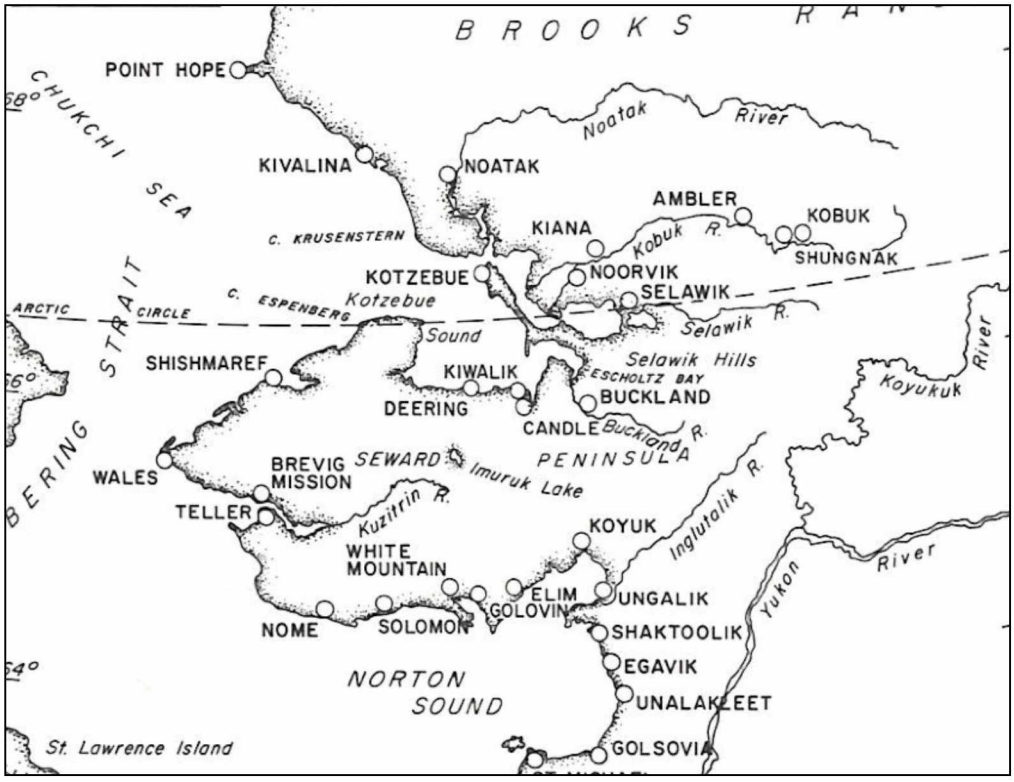


Figure 1: Map of Seward Peninsula, Northwest Alaska. Villages or specific locations of interest include, but not limited to: Kotzebue, Noatak, Teller, Shishmaref, and Cape Espenberg. (Stern, R.C., Arobio, E.L., Naylor, L.L., and Thomas, W.C., 1980)

sewing as a platform for capturing and embracing the knowledge of the Iñupiat of long ago. My research focus revolves around my family connection in skin-sewing, Iñupiaq values in skin-sewn garments, and the skin-sewn garment's connection with cultural identity.

Let me tell you who I am. *Uvaŋa atiġa Ahnaughuq*. My name is *Ahnaughuq*, which means "little girl." I am named after my paternal grandmother or *Ahna*, Katherine (Eningowuk) Barr of Shishmaref. I grew up in Nome and Kotzebue in Northwest Alaska and am one of six children. My parents are Delano *Naunaq* of Shishmaref, and Minnie Esther *Saumik* (Onalik) Barr of Noatak. I am Iñupiaq. Presenting my parents and my grandparents helps build a connection between you, the reader, and me. I earned a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree in Drawing and a minor in Native Art at the University of Alaska Fairbanks in December 1997. However, I have come to understand my education in Iñupiaq culture started many years ago, more so since people want to know who I am.

Rationale – Research Topic: Skin-sewing and Cultural Identity

While skin-sewing and cultural identity appear to be different subjects, they are actually connected, particularly when looking at the design and fabrication of skin-sewn garments. I choose to not call them "artifacts" as the term artifact is usually perceived as items which are very old, such as from an archeological site, and the items in my research are actually living objects in our culture. Dictionary.com defines an artifact as,

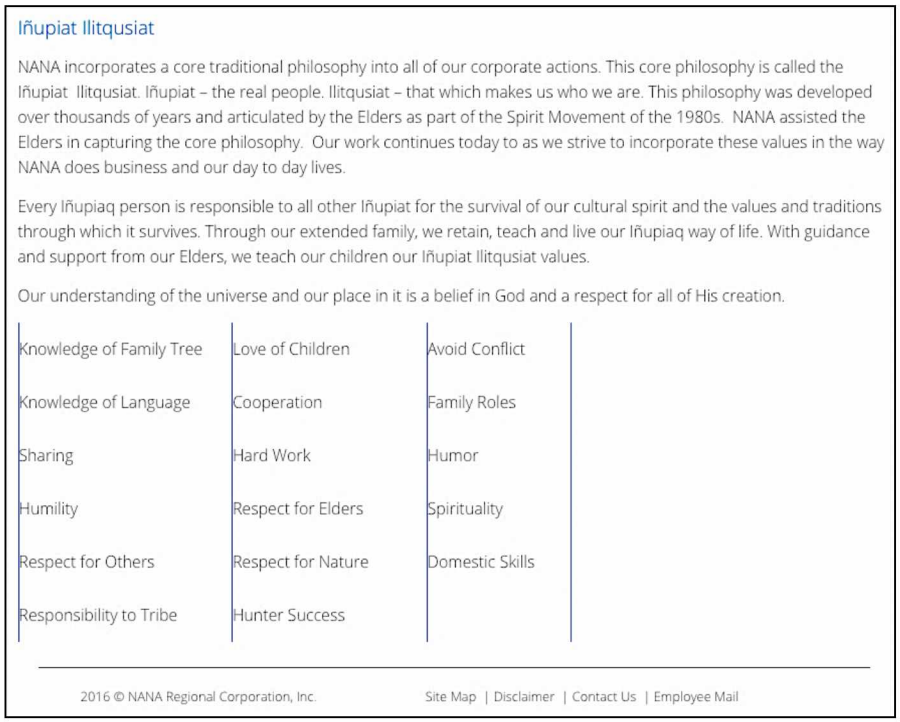
1. any object made by human beings, especially with a view to subsequent use.
2. a handmade object, as a tool, or the remains of one, as a shard of pottery, characteristic of an earlier time or cultural stage, especially such an object found at an archaeological excavation.
3. any mass-produced, usually inexpensive object reflecting contemporary society or popular culture: *artifacts of the pop rock generation.* (artifact, April 21, 2018)

I will choose to call them skin-sewn garments. When I make a skin-sewn garment, it makes sense to incorporate Iñupiaq ideas and imagery, which originate from my family and people into

my design of the garment. This is how I started to research Iñupiaq skin-sewing, and of *kammak* (referred to "mukluks" in Yugtun or Central Yup'ik, bearded seal is "*maqlaq*" from which "mukluk" derives) and further, my matrilineal family of skin-sewers.

My research started when I became curious of how intricate designs of the top portion of *kammak* (see Figure 2) made by different Iñupiaq skin-sewers represent intangible ideas, such as our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* values: Spirituality, Hard Work, Love of Children, Love of Others, and many others (see Figure 3). In this example of my father's *kammak*, the use of all white reindeer leggings is significant since it is very hard to acquire all white reindeer legging skins. This represents "Hard Work," as my grandmother Katherine, who made the *kammak* for my father, has clearly worked hard in acquiring such skins, and carefully designing the *kammak* to include intricate calfskin geometric designs. Iñupiaq Elders defined their values in the early 1980s, and these are now taught in school in the Kotzebue region (Greenbank, 1996; NANA, 2016). Similar

Figure 2: Delano *Naunaq* Barr's white reindeer legging *kammak*, with black and white calfskin (cow) tops (*quli*) and beaver trim, and *ugruk* (bearded seal) hard bottom soles made by his mother Katherine *Koiyuk Ahnaughuq* (Eningowuk) Barr of Shishmaref, Alaska. (personal photo, 2015)



Iñupiat Ilitqusiat

NANA incorporates a core traditional philosophy into all of our corporate actions. This core philosophy is called the Iñupiat Ilitqusiat. Iñupiat – the real people. Ilitqusiat – that which makes us who we are. This philosophy was developed over thousands of years and articulated by the Elders as part of the Spirit Movement of the 1980s. NANA assisted the Elders in capturing the core philosophy. Our work continues today to as we strive to incorporate these values in the way NANA does business and our day to day lives.

Every Iñupiaq person is responsible to all other Iñupiat for the survival of our cultural spirit and the values and traditions through which it survives. Through our extended family, we retain, teach and live our Iñupiaq way of life. With guidance and support from our Elders, we teach our children our Iñupiat Ilitqusiat values.

Our understanding of the universe and our place in it is a belief in God and a respect for all of His creation.

Knowledge of Family Tree	Love of Children	Avoid Conflict
Knowledge of Language	Cooperation	Family Roles
Sharing	Hard Work	Humor
Humility	Respect for Elders	Spirituality
Respect for Others	Respect for Nature	Domestic Skills
Responsibility to Tribe	Hunter Success	

Figure 3: Screenshot of NANA Regional Corporation's *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* Iñupiaq values, created in early 1980s by Iñupiaq Elders at their local Elders conferences. (NANA, 2016)

lists have been recognized by Alaska Native peoples across the state, and are shared openly in many venues to their respective youth. Revealing skin sewers' perspectives of themselves, their values, and ways they express cultural identity is my focus in my research. These representations of Iñupiaq values appear in the skin-sewn garments, and are figuratively present when we examine them. Recognizing the Iñupiaq values brings upon deeper understanding of the maker of these skin-sewn work.

Limitations of my Research

In the process of gathering my data and collecting interviews, I have come across another realization. By providing a very narrow focus into skin-sewing and understanding why the garments are made with the designs the Iñupiaq skin-sewers chose, I also wanted to know why they skin-sew as opposed to pursuing other professions or activities. In examining these questions, I have come across the many challenges skin-sewers have in their lives outside of

Nome, circa 1915. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-33100.

Figure 4: Iñupiaq men dancing at a 1915 festival held outside in Nome, Alaska. Notice that since it was relatively warm, there is not a need to wear fancy parkas when dancing, and today it is more common to wear fancy *kammak* when dancing in this style. (Shutt, L., Biddison, D. & Crowell, A. L., 2014)

skin-sewing. Social issues such as poverty, demands of having children, high costs of living, and alcoholism and drug abuse in the villages are present in everyday life. In this research, I will touch upon these issues but very briefly. I am providing additional context of how skin-sewing fits into Iñupiaq worldviews, focusing on who the hand-sewn garments are made for, and how they represent relationships in mentoring, as well as Iñupiaq values.

Original Focus on *Kammak Quli* from Seward Peninsula

My original research was primarily on *kammak*, but now includes other skin-sewn garments in Iñupiaq culture, especially from a personal and family perspective. I researched Arctic fur clothing articles through photographs within my paternal family and interviewed my family and friends on their interest related to skin-sewing. Some gave further thought into their fancy parka clothing's functionality, usefulness, and signs of status. *Designwork* (my term to denote creation of designs in fancy clothing) on fur clothing or regalia (regalia describes clothing

or garments worn during Festivals, ceremony, or when participating in Alaska Native dancing) is a way to indicate a sign of wealth or upper class standing in a community. These designs in *kammak* and other fur garments allow the owners to display their ties to Iñupiaq identity. My main reason for originally focusing on *kammak* is they are easier to afford as opposed to owning a full fur or fancy parka, which may be more expensive and takes longer to make. Owning a fur parka may be more difficult due to acquiring the many furs needed, as well as needing more skin-sewers. *Kammak* examples and discussion of fancy parkas are shared in the findings chapter.

In some Iñupiaq events, it might be more appropriate to wear fancy *kammak* and a fancy parka is not needed (see Figure 4). My target research group is experienced skin-sewers of Shishmaref, Kotzebue, and other communities on the Seward Peninsula, all of whom are over the age of 18. The Seward Peninsula is located in Northwest Alaska. I left it up to the interviewees to discuss their skin-sewn items, and to share their work through photos. At the time of some interviews, I was able to take photographs of the interviewees and their work. For family research, I utilized personal photos and family photos and credited them accordingly. These locations selected are places where I have grown up and have strong family ties.

Location of Research

As mentioned, my focus of my research interviews is with Iñupiaq people of Northwest Alaska. Alaskan Iñupiaq people have already been the focus of many ethnographic studies and anthropological research (see Chapter Two on literature). I conducted my interviews with family members and several others of Iñupiaq descent via telephone, or electronically through Skype or Google Hangouts (browser internet platforms). This is because many people I interviewed live

away from Fairbanks, where I live. More will be discussed in the findings chapter about location and the methods I utilized in my research project.

Creating Meaningful Dialogue on Skin-sewing/Implications of my Research

My hopes for sharing my research and knowledge are so I can help create meaningful dialogue about Iñupiaq skin-sewing, which connects cultural identity through materialistic means of the skin-sewer; and to encourage inexperienced (or non) skin-sewers to pursue the skin-sewing activity through learning more of the meanings behind the designs or work of a skin-sewn garment. Study of Indigenous worldviews and recognition of Indigenous methodologies in academia has finally become an important area of expertise (Archibald, 2008; Battiste, 2008; Boyer, 2010; Drabek, 2012; Kawagley, 2006; Leonard, 2007; Ongtoogook, 2004; Ormond, Cram & Carter, 2006; Peat, 2005; Smith, C. 2013, Smith, L. 2012; Wilson, 2009). Research conducted in rural communities can be improved through the participation of Indigenous researchers who originate from those communities (Johnson, 2013; Kawagley, 2006). I want to emphasize to young Iñupiat and interested people that their ideas and worldview are important, even if it is as simple as talking about designs from their families' skin-sewing tradition. My hope is to help open their minds to the fact that their lives and work from their region are valuable and should be discussed. Many examples of Inuit and Iñupiaq skin-sewing literature does emphasize this importance, but sharing comparative personal narratives from today's skin-sewers can bring new ideas, which highlights and reinforces this as a valuable activity. Skin-sewing can also be an avenue of healing for youth, and for connecting with themselves and with their cultural ancestors, thus helping to create "culturally healthy students [individuals] and communities" (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008). The main goal is maintaining healthy lifestyles and continuing traditions which are conducive to a healthy worldview.

Anthropological and historical views in early documentation of Iñupiaq life reveal ideas such as hard work, spirituality, and signs of respect to the animals embedded in skin-sewing skills (Fair & Blodgett, 2006; Keithan, 1963; King, Pauksztat, & Storrie, 2005; Lund, 1974; Oakes, Riewe, & Apatiki, 2007; Oakes, Riewe, & Bata Shoe Museum, 1998; Oakes & Riewe, 1996; Oswalt, 1967; Pharand & Otak, 2012; Ray, 1981; Ray, 1975; Tennant, 1989). However, the majority of the local knowledge about Iñupiaq people in Alaska is largely shared through non-Iñupiaq eyes, missing many deeper meanings and historical beliefs of Iñupiaq culture (Arctic Research Consortium of the United States, 1999; Chandonnet, 1998; Gorbacheva & Federova, 2000; Issenman, 1997; Keithahn, 1963; King et al., 2005; Lund, 1974; Oakes et al., 2007; Oakes & Riewe, 1996; Oswalt, 1967; Pendergrast, Lipka, Watt, Gilliland, & Sharp, 2007; Ray, 1981; Ray, 1975; United States, 1996; Watt, Lipka, Webster, Yanez, Andrew-Ihrke, & Adam, 2006). This is due to the nature of Western science, where one may be expected to study other peoples, and the trend shows there are many more written works by non-Iñupiaq people than by Iñupiaq people about their culture.

As an inside researcher, I view the work and words of my interviewees as a small slice of a huge social and cultural network, constantly moving and adapting with many levels of interaction and influences. This study grew out of my love and desire to understand how skin-sewer artists make and create designs and connect their designs as part of their cultural identity. Interactions happen from generation to generation and sharing knowledge about skin-sewing helps define identity. In much of the current literature, these interactions and relationships between skin-sewers and their mentors are not clearly outlined or are rarely the focus in a book. I wanted to know more of the meanings behind such beautiful skin-sewn work. From these two concepts of skin-sewing and cultural identity, I have explored an understanding of "being

Iñupiaq" through personal family history, visualization, and how relationships contribute to the future of Iñupiaq skin-sewers.

Economic Need vs. Desire of Continuing Knowledge

One of my father's cousins, Katherine *Dollic* Eningowuk (whom I will refer to as *Dollic*, her Iñupiaq name so as not to mistaken her for my grandmother Katherine K. A. (Eningowuk) Barr), my great uncle Delbert Eningowuk's daughter of Shishmaref, shared with me,

> I thought about how Shishmaref, in comparison to other parts of our area, does not have economic development opportunities. No commercial fishing, logging, benefits of NSEDC [Norton Sound Economic Development Corporation – a non-profit for developing resources] or borough taxes. They are much more reliant on traditional arts and craft income which help enable them to keep the traditional arts and crafts alive. (personal electronic communication, March 2018)

In this one comment, so much is explained about how valuable skin-sewing is in Shishmaref to help create needed income for the artist and family. This includes how the knowledge of skin-sewing is recognized as both traditional and intangible, which demonstrates the need for this skill to continue being passed down from generation to generation. The activity also fulfills the income needs of skin-sewers. Part of the situation in Shishmaref to help address the need for tanned furs is the local tribal organization known as the Shishmaref Tannery. Creating and running this tannery also illustrates the high numbers of skin-sewers in the community and in the surrounding region. As mentioned by *Dollic*, the Norton Sound Economic Development Corporation, or NSEDC, is a for-profit organization created to fulfill the needs of those living in the Bering Sea villages by offering services, utilizing local resources and funneling much needed funds back into their communities through economic development. However, because Shishmaref on the Sarichef Island is facing the Chukchi Sea, the residents of Shishmaref do not benefit from this organization (NSEDC, n.d.), as do the villages in the Bering Straits Region

facing the Bering Sea that are eligible to participate in NSEDC. As part of my research, I considered identifying how many skin-sewers are actually from or live in Shishmaref. I learned from the Shishmaref Tannery website, that there are 23 skin-sewers listed, but I could not verify this information as I do not know if the website has been updated recently. Another way to find out how many skin-sewers in Shishmaref would involve inquiring with one of Alaska's statewide programs, the Silver Hand program, which authenticates hand-made items made by Alaska Natives. Please note, this is a different program than Made in Alaska, which is an identifier of all those who make hand-made items in Alaska, Native or non-Native. Another organization that may have a list or known numbers of Iñupiaq skin-sewers from Northwest Alaska is Kawerak, Inc., a regional non-profit arm of Bering Straits Regional Corporation located in Nome. At this time of my research I have not made those inquiries and chose to focus on the cultural identity and knowledge shared by my interviewees. Many Alaskan rural villages also have limited job opportunities, and villages like Shishmaref (i.e., Point Hope, Utqiaġvik and many more) are known for having skilled Iñupiaq skin-sewers. My research focuses on sharing Iñupiaq culture through the knowledge of skin-sewers from the communities of Seward Peninsula.

Changes in Worldview

Indigenous knowledge systems are a major part of my research. Areas of interest in Iñupiaq culture concentrate on the survival of our Iñupiaq, thus creating a window to our worldview. More specifically, my research includes the knowledge systems in the practice of skin-sewing. First, I would like to define how I will use the terms Indigenous and Native following an example by Dr. April Counceller (2010) in her dissertation,

> I use the term Indigenous with a capital I to differentiate from the "small i" used in reference to plants and animals. This is now common in the literature among Indigenous

> scholars, but still worth noting, as it is not yet universal. I use this term interchangeably with Native (also capitalized), or terms accepted in specific areas that fall under discussion (such as First Nations in Canada). (p. 74)

Throughout my project, I will utilize the terms "Indigenous" as related more broadly to academia, "Alaska Native" when referring to the Indigenous people and knowledge systems of Alaska, and "Iñupiaq" to refer to my research collaborators from this cultural region. The term Indigenous (with a capital "I") is more specific in referring to all *Indigenous* people, concepts, or knowledge of different Native populations in the world, and the use of a smaller "i" for those referring to plants and animals. Citations from older works may not observe this, but I will note them whenever possible.

I have also a high interest in recognizing how cultural identity is expressed by skin-sewers of Iñupiaq descent. There is a lack of Iñupiaq skin-sewing literature by Iñupiaq writers who give personal perspectives of cultural identity using their voices to represent their unique worldviews (more on literature will be in Chapter Two). One of the challenges is many young people today choose not to pursue skin-sewing, thus there are fewer adept skin-sewers who make it their livelihood.

Changes in Tools and Ways of Obtaining Materials Needed for Skin-sewing

A further challenge is the need for different tools from tools made by Iñupiaq people of long ago. For example, today it is important to have good metal (professionally made) pinchers or needle-nose pliers to crimp the hard bottoms. Images of women long ago who crimped with their teeth were included in calendars, postcards, and other non-literary works (Stuart, 1951 in Figure 5) in the mid-twentieth century, which is also the time period of when tools were changing to modern technology (see Jill Oakes' *Factors Influencing Kamik Production in Arctic Bay, Northwest Territories*, 1987). Other needed tools not readily available in the villages of

Figure 5: Eskimo Girl Crimping Oogruk [*ugruk*] Soles (photographer Leon Vincent). (Stuart, 1951)

Alaska that have to be ordered or picked up in the cities, include glover needles (steel tri-pointed needles made especially for thicker fabric or fur or leather sewing), strong thread or imitation sinew (as real sinew is no longer made at home from caribou or other animals in Alaska), and of course, a variety of furs, leathers, felt, and other fabrics to help supply the material needed to make such garments.

For today's skin-sewer, the metal tools being used now demonstrate that Iñupiaq women decided they did not need to chew or crimp soles with their teeth, and is noted by Alan Herscovici, a reviewer of Jill Oakes' *Factors Influencing Kamik Production in Arctic Bay, Northwest Territories*,

> Younger women, she [Oakes] finds, fear that chewing seal hides (to prepare them for *kamik* production) might damage their teeth. Oake's use of a wringer washing machine to soften soles (a technique she learned from a woman from Chesterfield Inlet) is watched with keen interest. (Herscovici, 1988)

These ways of adapting to newer technology is part of why the Native people of Alaska are still

here (including the Iñupiaq people). The Iñupiat are opportunists when it comes to living in the Far North. One of the Iñupiaq traits mentioned in many of the anthropological literature is that Iñupiaq do not waste any part of the animals as noted by Susie Silook, (Siberian Yupik from St. Lawrence Island) in a reference towards ivory carving and use of ivory,

> In accordance with our cultural value of no waste, we've made our boats, tools, clothing, spiritual items, and artwork from the inedible parts of the gift of the walrus. They are inextricably a part of our ancient and sustainable relationship with the land and sea, and provide critical food and an important economic resource for hunters and artists in rural Alaska. (Silook, 15 May 2017, U.S. Department of the Interior Indian Arts and Crafts Board)

When steel needles and steel pliers came to Alaska, these tools more quickly accomplished a task than the older and non-metal tools, during a time of great change.

Iñupiaq women were also introduced to popular Western ideas of beauty, and were exposed to the ways in which non-Native women changed the way they looked. These preferences are clear when we examine the media through film and radio campaigns of the mid-nineteenth century (see the section on my great-aunt Bessie (Barr) Cross section for example in Figure 22). In my own grandmothers' lifetimes, from when they were born in 1916 and 1918, to when they became of age to marry and when new technology and refinement of available tools and ideas, allowed them to continue to survive in ways unknown before. In contrast to current technology, Oscar Kawagley (2006) in *A Yupiaq Worldview: A Pathway to Ecology and Spirit*, references soft technology, which existed before and at the time of contact in Alaska with the Yup'ik and Iñupiaq cultures. Soft technology as defined by Kawagley is "the making of tools and implements, construction of shelter, means of governance, conflict resolution, and so forth... done with as little harm to the natural and supernatural worlds as possible." (p. 55) The inclusive nature of the supernatural realm being considered in using natural materials for all manners of human living differs from today's organic and earth-friendly production of materials and

consumption of goods. To explain further, in addition to the use of natural materials that are earth-friendly utilized in Iñupiaq and Yup'ik culture long ago, this process also included a respectful way of making and designing the tools and materials needed for a subsistence life in order to not offend the spirits of the animals being hunted (Kawagley, 2006).

Necessity vs. Now

Much like long ago, wearing fancy clothing today such as decorated, fancy parkas and *kammak* shows the luxury of the woman (or the skin-sewer of the family) in having spare time to work on such complex and intricate designs (see Figure 6). Susan Fair and Jean Blodgett (2006) in *Alaska Native Art* comment,

> Skin sewing, which is very time-consuming and generally commissioned and costly ["now" in the 1990s when the book researched Alaska vs. long ago], is not well represented at the [Anchorage] airport exhibit. A fancy Yup'ik or Inupiaq parka, for example, can take four years to make and requires the long-term harvesting, processing, design, and sewing talents of a number of people. Often, such parkas represent the work of three generations of women, but curators of public art do not have generations, or even years, to collect. (p. 180)

Long ago, the long process for producing fancy work or fancy parkas usually meant the family had enough resources or trading abilities to acquire such materials, including the persistent use of generational knowledge in sewing distinctive and desirable clothing. Hard Work, one of the Iñupiaq values of the Northwest Arctic region (NANA, 2016), was also required to keep a family clothed long ago. *Killiaq-* meaning "to sew" in Bering Strait Iñupiaq dialect (Shutt, Biddison, & Crowell, 2014), is less common today; even if people think the garments are beautiful, many do not think they can sew well or at all, which relates back to the value of Humility.

Figure 6: Reindeer and Eskimos of Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska (photographer O.D. Goetz). (Anchorage Museum of Alaska and Art, n.d.)

Designs, more specifically, "fancywork" (as coined by Edna Wilder, 1976, p. 36), or *quli* in *kammak*, is a way for the family and skin-sewers to showcase their masterful skin-sewing abilities and as a positive way to showcase our Iñupiaq worldview (see Figure 6). Fancywork is the decoration of borders and lined geometric designs made from calfskin (young cowhide which is an introduced fur to Alaska), which adorns *kammak* or the parkas. Fair and Blodgett (2006) describe the fancywork,

> Complex geometric parka borders (used on hems, lapels, shoulders, cuffs, mukluk tops) came into fashion in the twentieth century, and are only used on "fancy parkas," not everyday wear. Black-and-white calfskins are preferred for their dramatic contrast with local furs. Parka styles and borders still serve as ethnic markers identifying the home community and region of the wearer. (p. 183)

This understanding of how outside skins became more popular for fancywork is further supported by James-Johnson Kofron Simon (1998) in his dissertation *Twentieth Century Iñupiaq Eskimo Reindeer Herding on the Seward Peninsula, Alaska*,

> Colorful reindeer hides, such as those which were spotted or white, brought higher prices than other hides for use as outer parkas and decorative trim with alternating geometric patterns. Trade with the Siberians therefore provided the Iñupiat with access to highly desirable reindeer skins, as well as to the exotic items acquired by the Siberians through participation in the Russian fur trade. (p. 80)

Fancywork may have heightened with the introduction of reindeer herding, producing elaborate fancywork designs in skin-sewing. Simon also thanked Elsie Weyiouanna of Shishmaref for bringing the information of the value of higher hides for reindeer parka making to his attention. Simon noted that the Siberian-Alaska Iñupiat (or Bering Strait) trade network existed before the introduction of whalers, gold miners and other outsiders to Alaska. Simon also reported live reindeer in Alaska resulted from the Chukotkan reindeer herding introduction which happened in the winter of 1892-1893 (Simon, 1998). More on patterns or *quli* will be explained in Chapter Four.

About the Iñupiaq people long ago, Wilder (1976) shares, "there were no stores from which the people could purchase materials, so each family tried to take care of its own needs. They tanned skins and made their own garments to protect them from the harsh Alaskan winter." (pp. 71-72). A good hunter could acquire many skins (*amiq* meaning skins from North Slope dialect, Shutt, Biddleson, & Crowell, 2016) to supply the need of making clothing, as well as providing enough food to support the family year-round. It was a necessity to skin-sew.

Matrilineal Lineage of Skin-sewers

Growing up with skin-sewers in my family made me realize there are master skin-sewers. The beautiful traditional designs in the parka and in her *kammak* made by my grandmother Katherine (of Shishmaref) for family members were intricate (see Figure 2). To showcase sewing skills as representative of family in public events, competitions were created and maintained for decades, including reindeer fairs from 1915 and later (Lund, 1974; United States National Park

Service, 1996). Competitions like these were and still are common to showcase an Iñupiaq family's pride in skin-sewn work in Northern and Northwest Alaska.

Each of my grandmothers grew up and sewed throughout their lives and enjoyed it for many years. Both have made many fur garments, ranging from very fancy and with beadwork to less decorated but nonetheless very impressive work. My research focused on personal observations of skin-sewers and how the garments being made have stories and a historical context in their creation. These stories connect with our Iñupiaq values and provide context as to why garments were made. This study grew out of love and desire to understand how cultural identity serves as a personal portal into what we value and find important. Much like my *Ataata*, I see preserving Iñupiaq knowledge as vital to our wellbeing. To do this, Iñupiaq must learn about their own views, but even this process is complicated.

My parents grew up with skin-sewing traditions as a fuller and more complete aspect of a subsistence lifestyle than exists today. As my parents and grandparents grew older, several aspects of their life were replaced by newer and easier-to-obtain technology (Kawagley, 2006). They began to use guns for hunting, outboard motors, modern boats made out of aluminum, and most of their outerwear for winter is now down coats and Sorel boots as opposed to traditional fur parkas and *kammak*. Everyday life now includes many aspects of Western technology, which is indispensable in order to live in a modern household as we do in today's communities. The use of *kammak* and traditional fur skin clothing has diminished greatly in everyday clothing (Wilder, 1976), but I see the pendulum shift where it is still valued for special occasions like Native dance events (Fair & Blodgett, 2006; Kingeekuk & Din, 2012; Wilder, 1976). I will speak more about my immediate family and others in Chapter Four.

Brief History of Skin-sewing: *Kammak Quli* and History

This research is partly focused on examining the usefulness, beauty, and purpose of design work or *quli* in *kammak* and other fur garments in Iñupiaq culture. As mentioned earlier, *quli* are designs on the tops of *kammak* and can be black and white domestic (cow) calfskin (which was introduced to Alaska and became popular in early 20th century to today), or beadwork, and is usually a wide band that runs a complete circle (see Figure 2). The wide band of decoration, often made of small geometric designs is intricate and takes hours and foresight to complete (Oakes et al., 2007; Oakes & Riewe, 1996; Pendergrast et al., 2007; Watt et al., 2006; Wilder, 1976). I hypothesize the introduction of cowhide or calfskin came with the influx of immigrants and non-Indigenous people to Alaska who brought items from the "lower 48" (contiguous United States of America) because of the thriving beef and hide industry in the mid-nineteenth century. My father confirmed he saw calfskin imported by the gold miners who transported goods up to

Figure 7: Example of *kammak* as a commodity, photo labeled "780 pairs of Water Mukluks sold to the U.S. Army" with an estimated date of 1896-1913, photographer H. G. Kaiser. (Rasmuson Library Historical Photo Collection, n.d.)

Alaska every summer in 1940s and 1950s (personal communication, 2018). Even earlier in Iñupiaq history is the importance of skin-sewing as a means for the non-Indigenous people to be able to survive in the Far North. In one of my searches for photo evidence of skin-sewing, I was also able to find examples of sold *kammak* for the United States Army. One photo in particular shows 780 pairs being delivered (see Figure 7). The importance of wearing proper attire in the Far North is exemplified in this one photo. Another interesting note that I found about skin-sewing for non-Indigenous outsiders is that "During World War II, Esther Norton sewed 17 parkys and 1, 068 mukluks for the U.S. Army." (Chandonnet, 1998, p. 100), which also exemplifies the power of one skin-sewer in her prime as well as doing what she knows best.

Another hypothesis is that the introduction of reindeer herding also provided a different fur skin, which had high-contrasting color qualities and became popular in the making of fancy skin-clothing (Martin, 2001; Simon, 1998). Certain Iñupiaq *quli* (designs) are designated as family owned and may not be shared, whereas in some areas, many are shared (Fair, 2006; King et al., 2005; Kingeekuk & Din, 2012; Martin, 2001; Oakes et al., 2007; Oakes & Riewe, 1996; Wilder, 1976). I wanted to find out what Iñupiaq *quli* may be popular or unique, as it may indicate the high level of creativity of the skin-sewer. Such creativity is encouraged through competition, such as in being able to showcase skin-sewn garments at festivals held in many parts of Alaska (Keithahn, 1963; Lund, 1974; Martin, 2001; Ray, 1981; Ray, 1975; Tennant, 1989; Wilder, 1976). Examples of these events are the World Eskimo Indian Olympics (WEIO) held mostly in Fairbanks (or rarely in Anchorage), the Northwest Arctic Trade (or known now as *Qatmut*) Fair held in Kotzebue, the Fur Rondy Celebration (Anchorage – see Figure 8), and even early reindeer fairs started by Sheldon Jackson during the introduction of reindeer to Alaska (Simon, 1998) in the early 20th century. These events often included Iñupiaq parka and regalia

Figure 8: All in their finery, Fur Rondy (Fur Rondezvous Festival) couples celebrate in February (1960s) in Anchorage, Alaska. (Anchorage Daily News, 2001)

competitions, where garments and designs were evaluated down to the last detail (Fair & Blodgett, 2006; Lund, 1974). Through sharing in public avenues, the understanding and passion about skin-sewing comes out to audiences who may not be familiar with this practice. Skin-sewing needs to be seen as a meaningful and a satisfying experience, and can be a very personal and positive experience to the skin-sewer (Harcharek, 1995; Kingeekuk & Din, 2012; Wilder, 1976).

In conversation with my father, Delano Barr of Shishmaref, he remembers meeting many people at local reindeer regional trade fairs which brought many people together each spring (personal communication, April, 2016). These trade fairs were an opportunity for families to trade goods plentiful in their own area for items they desired from other areas (Frost, 2001; Hall, 1975; King et al., 2005; Oswalt, 1967). Families would wear their best fur garments to these

fairs. Even with the hardships of life then, there were times when one would wear their best. Other opportunities for making and sharing these garments include as gifts from one person to another, funeral clothing for the recently deceased, or even for rites of passage for those who have attained certain milestones in their life, i.e., puberty, marriage, and other life events.

Iñupiaq Dancing in Fairbanks

My husband and I founded the Pavva Iñupiaq Dancers in 1999 in Fairbanks. Living in Fairbanks since 1992, and through Iñupiaq dance, I have attended many Native-focused events where my family and I have been asked many times about our *kammak*. These inquiries were made by mostly non-Natives, people who are not familiar with recognizing the different animal furs or in the understanding the meaning behind the *quli*. I was able to explain what I thought the design meanings were in my own *kammak*, but I knew I did not know everything, so I started ask others about their own. Some theories I have for interpreting the *kammak* as a garment are the designs represented hard work, excellent skills of skin-sewing, pride, and the wealth of the family. This is really where I started my research.

One of my goals is to promote healthy lifestyles and alcohol- and drug-free activities. Through my involvement with my dance group, I learned Iñupiaq and Yup'ik dancing, singing, and drumming, which we performed, was a gateway to connect with cultural identity. I realized being Iñupiaq also meant including other personal activities into my life, such as skin-sewing, beadwork, and other arts and crafts (Kingeekuk, 2012; Tennant, 1989; Wilder, 1976). Dancing and maintaining my cultural activities also meant I started to re-examine my life to see what I do to "feel" Iñupiaq, and how others experience it as well.

Additional history of skin-sewing and early documentation of Iñupiaq life and skin-sewing is explored in my chapter on literature review. Further discussion about my methods and

methodology, and the epistemology and views of the Iñupiaq skin-sewer are in my methodology section. I also highlighted challenges which came up while I conducted my research.

Women's Narratives in Viewing Worldviews

In the article *Cutting Meat, Sewing Skins, Telling Tales: Women's Stories in Gambell, Alaska* by Carol Zane Jolles (1994), Jolles shared the value of women's narratives in examining cultural identity,

> In Northern Native communities, the work which women (and men) do defines conceptions of identity. Local narratives highlight subsistence responsibilities. Women's narratives draw on these duties, emphasizing familial commitment to a hunting life way over individualized and more self-serving occupations. Narratives illuminate the cycle of seasonal responsibilities and familial roles within that cycle. They act as strands of webs which connect each person to her relatives and ancestors who have also carried out these responsibilities and give voice to ties between work and identity. (p. 89)

This view of women's work clearly defines many aspects of Iñupiaq views of oneself in relationship to their family unit, both relevant today as in the past. However, many skin-sewers and women have to make other decisions for survival. Discovering these personal narratives provides a perspective not yet shared when we look at skin-sewing activities in Iñupiaq culture. However, due to time limitations in my research I was not able to explore fully those narratives, but was able to examine other areas of the dynamic relationships that form within skin-sewing activities.

Native Arts and Design Work

The formation and path of the Native arts in Shishmaref and other Native villages of Alaska has come a long way. Native art has transformed from the time of early explorers to Native contemporary artists who choose this as a profession. This is reflected in the numbers of Native artists who choose this profession to make a living today. Ron Senungetuk, an Iñupiaq Native artist and also the creator of the Alaska Native Art Center at UAF, mentions the beauty

and imagination of the Native artist. He also relates that most Native people who are potential artists do not see this as a viable line of work as artists must produce enough handmade products to support themselves as a full-time job or profession. The vast majority of ivory carvers or skin-sewers only reach "souvenir" level. Senungetuk, through his own journey as a Native artist while in Norway, stated his interest in Norwegian rosemaling and similar art, "[I] wanted to know of their relationship of their way of life with their arts" (Frost, 1975, p. 47). This process of examining "creation of designs" is similar to what I explored further with my interviews.

Design work in skin-sewing is an old art (Fair & Blodgett, 2006; Frost, 1975; Gorbatcheva & Federova, 2000; Issenman, 1997; Keithan, 1963; King & Storrie, 2005; Martin, 2001; Oakes et al., 2007; Oakes & Riewe, 1996; Oswalt, 1967; Ray, 1981; Ray, 1975; Wilder, 1976). Some of the Iñupiaq art literature highlights different periods of Iñupiaq life long ago, i.e., the Punuk period, usually a reference to Old Bering Sea artwork, a period of time that highlights the more abstract and simpler forms of animals and humans, and includes the use of lines, dots, and notches in representing intangible beliefs of Iñupiaq worldviews.

Historically, many Iñupiaq families depended long ago on the skills of their women to keep their supply of clothing, outerwear, and footwear in good condition, otherwise the family would suffer from the harsh winter and cold (Fair & Blodgett, 2006; King & Storrie, 2005; Martin, 2001; Oakes et al., 2007; Oakes & Riewe, 1996; Ray, 1975; Wilder, 1976). Many designs in these older skin-sewing examples do not survive due to the nature of the material (skins of animals), which easily deteriorate from long exposure to the elements in the Arctic, or when stored improperly in today's modern housing that may harbor molds and other factors that may deteriorate skins more rapidly. I realized there were many of skin-sewn garments designs which existed before contact, that met the needs of families living in such cold and fast changing

conditions, as discussed by Fair and Blodgett (2006),

> Mukluks were made traditionally in dozens of different styles and materials that correspond to various types of hunting, local environmental conditions, and weather. Crimped (pleated) soles also come in many types, from this rigid boat-shaped style to softer forms. (p. 216)

Current literature in skin-sewing does not include the skin-sewers' ideas and concepts of how they create their designs, and how varied their work may be. Cultural designs can change so fast today through media and social exposure to different ideas. Skin-sewers can apply new designs in skin-sewn garments, or can alter traditional forms to express reactions to political or social changes. For example, the use of traditional images of land and sea animals are commonly used, but new uses can include new and different design forms related to non-Iñupiaq ideas. I once saw *kammak* at World Eskimo Indian Olympics that had prominent beaded large butterfly designs, and with purple colored leather for the soft-bottom *kammak*. Butterflies have not previously had significant meaning in traditional Iñupiaq forms as a recognized animal, but it was unusual to see these large butterflies on these *kammak*. This demonstrates that the skin-sewer also has free realm in creativity, if perceived as acceptable in their family or village and encouraged by family members.

Renewal of Cultural Identity through Creativity

"Knowledge, within a traditional society, is not the stuff of books, but the stuff of life" (Peat, 2005, p. 56). When looking at the designs of the *kammak* (mukluks), I wondered where creativity comes in when the Iñupiaq skin-sewer thinks about *quli* (designs)? How does a skin-sewer's worldview influence the design? When we look at self-identity, it is mentioned that self-esteem is also a factor working in any new *quli*. Through the teachings from mother to daughter, or from expert to apprentice, there is a connection to spirituality expressed through *quli*

(Kingeekuk, 2012; Martin, 2001; Wilder, 1976). I am able to reveal some understandings in design creation, but also demonstrate how relationships are a life-long event within skin-sewers' lives, and impactful in how they sustain their Iñupiaq identity.

There are generational differences that are quickly working through today's society: "Arctic group identities have been undergoing pronounced changes and will continue to do so. The transition from small-scale societies to members of the global community has been more rapid in the Arctic than in most other areas" (ARCUS, 1999, p. 22). Realizations like this raise questions as to how we Iñupiat retain our identity in the light of fast and rapid change,

> Simply put, the wearing of Western manufactured clothes may indicate to the non-Native the success of the colonial or globalizing projects. Then, at the next stage, Native value systems may, it is proposed by anthropologists, become internalized in the literature as a form of resistance to colonialism. (King et al., 2005, p. 15)

Conversations about cultural change and how our lifestyles are affected, including understanding what representations of our people are important. Highlighting traditional values through making skin-sewn garments will sustain interest in our past history, and hopefully relay our Iñupiaq worldview to a wider audience and a new generation.

Challenges

Jo-Ann Archibald (2008) describes those who create as having a connection with their ancestors through the items they create; in Archibald's case, storytelling maintains this connection. Many skin-sewers also find solace and satisfaction in designing and selling beautiful but purposeful items which also fulfill an economic need, by providing much needed income. The making of these garments include a personal story of why the garment was made and how the sewer came about making it, including the several generations who may be involved in the making of the garment (Fair & Blodgett, 2006; King et al., 2005; Oakes et al., 2007; Oakes &

Riewe, 1996; United States National Park Service, 1996). An artist may relay a personal narrative around this history and meaning of a specific garment; when this garment is sold to an individual buyer sometimes the story attached to the garment does not reach the larger public, especially when a story is verbally shared. These narratives are in danger of being lost when items are resold or the story is not written down for family or future owners of the garment. Many Iñupiaq skin-sewers, when asked, are glad to write down a full description of the garment or skin-sewn item, indicating what furs were used, and sometimes an explanation of the designs, as well as noting where the item was made.

Other challenges of an Iñupiaq skin-sewer is to make their skin-sewing activities a fulltime profession while finding time for family and other interests in a busy and economics-focused world. Another challenge is if one is willing to skin-sew, the furs being used are expensive due to tanning costs, hunting knowledge (or equipment or observing state regulations), and rules for small businesses. There are families also who cannot hunt or do not have the resources to hunt due to high fuel costs or lack of fundamental needed equipment (e.g., guns, boats, snowmachines or snowmobiles, and items that may be expensive). As to furs or skins needed for skin-sewing, most furs are now largely tanned commercially, as many people do not have the time or resources to tan their own skins. I also focused on understanding why garments are made and the skin-sewers ongoing relationship with these garments, even after being sold. An implication of my research involves encouraging the younger generations to learn the deeper knowledge of why we value these ideas and designs. Further implications include how these processes uphold our self-esteem in a world bombarded with mixed messages through technology and strong opinions of media that may misrepresent our world.

Conclusion

Recently in my parents' and in my lifetime, there is a renewed interest in traditional knowledge and openly identifying as Indigenous, in being able to adapt and preserve our activities in ways which could help sustain Indigenous identity (Craig, 1996; NANA, 2016). Being able to embrace what makes us Iñupiaq is a leap forward for our people to understand who they are, who their ancestors were, and what circumstances that happened to led to today's understanding of being Iñupiaq. Iñupiaq skin-sewing is a way to teach about hard work, pride, and learning about our own "Native Ways of Knowing" (Kawagley, 2006). "Recovery and preservation of lost and endangered knowledge is extremely urgent and important to Indigenous communities" (Nakata, 2007, p. 186). For Northwest Alaska, Iñupiaq values are being recognized in schools and incorporated in daily lives, encouraging us to be openly proud of our culture (Craig, 1995; Craig, 1996; NANA, 2016) and how our ancestors survived. Due to the holistic nature of skin-sewing and the relationship to cultural identity, I provide related personal narratives to help support these Iñupiaq values.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

> …whatever I have read about the Eskimo has been inaccurate. There is much to learn about my ancestors, but I feel that the usual "authoritative" sources do not offer this knowledge. (Senungetuk, 1971)

I empathize with Joseph Senungetuk's statement above published in his book *Give or Take a Century: An Eskimo Chronicle* (1971). Senungetuk realized this after he had spent time furthering his education while abroad in Europe. I will discuss views similar to Senungetuk on the section on Iñupiaq authors.

Literature available today focuses mostly on the "construction of" *kammak* and does not contain a full understanding of the personal perspectives of the skin-sewers on the reasons for their construction and design (Fair & Blodgett, 2006; Harachek, 1995; King, Pauksztat, & Storrie, 2005; Oakes, et al., 2007; Oakes & Riewe, 1996, Pharand & Otak, 2012). Many previous authors focus on the process of skin-sewing, do not investigate the deeper meanings of why items are made, why different designs are in the family, and how the skin-sewer comes up with new designs. My research will contribute to these Iñupiaq knowledge bases.

As I researched about the Iñupiaq designs of *kammak* (or other garments) in Northwest Alaska, many views are from a variety of experts on the different qualities of skin-sewing, but often include very limited details of the skin-sewers' understanding of their designs in a larger worldview context. Many historical and anthropological texts and articles from the early nineteenth century to the mid-1970s and 80s offer highly stereotypical views of cultural identity in ways that are both authoritative and arrogant in nature, such as all "Eskimos" (an outdated term in the field of Iñupiaq and Yup'ik cultures in Alaska today) live in an *iglu* (an Alaskan

Iñupiaq/Canadian Inuit term meaning ice or snow house), wear skin clothing, are "savage in personality," and whose cultures are "backward," based in a shamanistic religion. Most literature specific to skin-sewing generalizes to specific regions of Alaska or Canada, focusing on regional or village differences of how garments are made, and/or concentrate on "the construction of" the skin-sewn garments (King & Storrie, 2005; Oakes et al., 2007; Oakes & Riewe, 1996; Pendergrast et al., 2007; Pharand & Otak, 2012; Watt et al., 2006). Notably, because of these differences in these designs, an experienced skin-sewer can determine which area the *kammak* or garment would come from, and perhaps the village and which family originally made the designs (Shutt, Biddison, & Crowell, 2014; Kingeekuk, 2012; Wilder, 1976). But the voice of "why" the designs were created from the skin-sewers' perspective is largely missing, especially in the literature produced by non-Indigenous authors. This dialogue about Iñupiaq designs from the voice of the skin-sewer is greatly needed for future generations to build upon. I am hoping that sharing my research findings will contribute towards expanding this cultural recognition of what it means to be Iñupiaq.

What is Missing: Iñupiaq Personal Voices

Many oral traditions are not explained well (or not at all) in early 1900s literature, especially from an Iñupiaq perspective. Many non-Indigenous authors do not include the depth of the Iñupiaq worldviews, and often demonstrate a deficit of understanding of the rich history of skin-sewing (Hippler & Wood, 1977; King et al., 2005; Oakes et al., 2007; Oakes & Riewe, 1996). For example, in museums, where an item is displayed, the description is usually of the object and its material qualities, omitting the creator's (artist's) attributes as a person. These personal meanings, worldview, and why the item is important to the artist are missing. As

numbers of academic Indigenous scholars are increasing, I am hoping more Indigenous worldviews are being shared to help foster understandings of what it means to be Indigenous. My main goal is to contribute to the many Indigenous knowledge bases and add Iñupiaq oral traditions perspectives about garments in the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions of Alaska through the voices of their makers – the skin-sewers (Kingeeguk & Din, 2012; Wilder, 1976). Introducing to young people that their worldview is important for the art to live on for future generations, even if is as simple as talking about their designs, their art, and their skills (Dunham, 2009; Fair & Blodgett, 2006; Kawagley, 2006; Smith, 2012). In the next section I discuss my views of literature involving skin-sewing and cultural identity.

Historical Literature Focusing on Iñupiaq Culture in Alaska

There are many books which focus on early 20th century Iñupiaq culture from the perspective of early missionary teachers, gold miners, nurses, and especially in authoritative reports of the Territory of Alaska before statehood. Some examples include Henrietta Lund's *Of Eskimos and Missionaries: Lutheran Eskimo Missions in Alaska, 1894 – 1973* (1974), which is a narrative written from the missionaries' point-of-view with their life in teaching and the Word of God (or in the broader sense Christianity or outside religion). Often it was the outsider who came into the lives of Iñupiaq villagers, who wrote of the challenges of converting the Iñupiat, and how difficult the North is to live in. Other perspectives often characterized the Iñupiat as backward, savage, with customs that were different (Hippler & Wood, 1977; Oswalt, 1967; Stuart, 1952). From what I have read, it is the good "Native" who is rewarded for being assimilated into the Western traditions of living, by accepting new and different things which were not their own (Lund, 1974). Not all the literature tried to portray the negative image of

Iñupiaq culture. In Edward Keithahn's *Eskimo Adventure: Another Journey into the Primitive* (1963), there are moments where Keithahn expresses concern over the future of the Iñupiaq people he lived with in Shishmaref in the early 1920s. He and his wife adopted many hunting and gathering practices while living in Shishmaref, while still maintaining their mission of teaching English and territorial standards for public schooling. These kind words from people, who remember these experiences and portray humanity in Iñupiaq culture, are very different than the anthropologists who distance themselves in their research. It is still very interesting to read these logs or diary-style documentation, since I myself have not lived in that era of pre-contact or early contact, to substantiate the "facts" the outsiders presented.

Non-Indigenous Perspectives of Arctic Peoples

Early literature from non-Indigenous authors share perspectives of Iñupiaq life includes many anthropological studies of Inuit in the Far North, and focus on everyday life in the previous one hundred years. Researchers of Alaska Iñupiat include Edward Burch, Jr. (1988, 1998), Norman Chance (1967), Wendell Oswalt (1967), and Robert F. Spencer (1959). These early researchers/ authors focused on broad perspectives on Iñupiaq culture during pre-contact and turn of the century times to early 1950s and 1960s, which was a time of great change for the Iñupiat. Another resource by the Institute of Social and Economic Research (Hippler & Wood, 1977) is an annotated bibliography of Alaska Iñupiaq-focused research from the late 1800s to early 1970s. This resource also provided evaluations of several of the resources, noting the political or social/economical effects of the time when an article, book, or chapter was published, as well as circumstances of the author's reliability or credentials of their work. One feature I did

admire in other works included authenticated Iñupiaq words, which described many objects and activities within the culture, demonstrating there was a strong relationship with the researcher and the people being researched. However, these same authors are also positioned as *experts* on Iñupiaq people, giving the authors the power to define Iñupiaq people (at least at the time the works were published). I do recognize extensive research has been done, which is evident when reading these books, but the content and analysis are from an outsider's perspective. I do appreciate the (afore mentioned) Iñupiaq words integrated into many different subject areas, and the inclusiveness of Elders' views of everyday life from several different works of Northwest region of Alaska. For example, Spencer (1959) describes well a general idea of what it means to be a girl being brought up as Iñupiaq, and her relationship to the Iñupiaq home,

> Boys were encouraged to be good workers and providers; girls learned to keep a house in order. An unmarried girl made her own clothes which were covertly inspected by prospective mothers-in-law. A careless seamstress was judged as lazy and undesirable. It frequently happened that a girl was taken aside by an older female relative before marriage and shown the things which a hunter needed. A good wife was expected to keep all clothing in order, food ready, and all hunting gear except weapons properly arranged. (Spencer, 1959, p. 248)

These archaic views of past researchers, who came from a patriarchal society are not necessarily reflective of Iñupiaq worldviews or how the Iñupiat lived long ago. The researchers' generalizations often misinterpreted the power of women in familial units, including ownership of household items, and the general ownership of tools. For example, it is often thought the woman of the household had very little power, or was subservient to the husband or the men of the family. That is not true. We can see the power of the woman's impact on daily life through her skills as a skin-sewer (as well as butcher, nurse, child-bearer, etc.) when we look at their tools used for skin-sewing. The women's tools were recognized as being owned and very

specific to certain women, and thus respected. As an extension to this power, the women of the family are today still recognized as being able to take care of the hunted animals to be butchered. From this recognition, it allows the women to be in charge of what happens in the household in relationship to the fur skins. Understanding the contexts and timeframes of the researchers is necessary in re-evaluating the roles of Iñupiaq women and skin-sewing, I compare values and traditions of today and see if the core concepts are still practiced. However, I need to be careful to understand that even though the past researchers from before the 1970s worked hard in presenting their research as "true," there are misunderstandings and misinterpretations of Iñupiaq life.

Fair & Blodgett (2006) in *Alaska Native Art* highlight different Native artwork in Alaska and include fine examples representing other Indigenous groups. It has an easy-to-read manner that emphasizes the human aspects of ingenuity, creativity, tradition, and spirituality of many peoples of Alaska. This book highlights the voices behind the artists, and is not just a compilation of descriptive endeavors of an ethnographer. The examples in this book are very impressive, and include a good number of Alaska Native people's views. This is one of the best inclusive examples representing all Native cultures of Alaska, which is often difficult to find in the literature. A highlight of the book is the deeper knowledge of why objects are made, and how they represent cultural identity. These questions are actively discussed with the artists who make items representing their Alaska Native heritage and direct quotes contemplating these ideas are often included. My only criticism is this is another outsider's view of the cultures of Alaska and is apparent in the introduction. What may improve literature like this is if Alaska Native people wrote the chapters themselves. Fair, who died before the book was compiled, did make considerable effort in respecting all aspects of obtaining the knowledge, and making sure

what she wrote was shared with the people she researched. Blodgett was asked to continue Fair's research and compile the book, which is very admirable. I do not want to demean or devalue the books which were well meant to highlight the many Alaska Native people's hardiness and unique attributes, a trait shared amongst all those that live in Alaska (non-Indigenous or Indigenous). This book is well recognized as a reliable and meaningful resource.

In *The Artists Behind the Work: Life Stories of Nick Charles, Sr., Frances Demientieff Lena Sours, Jennie Thlunaut*, (Jones & Fienup-Riordan, 1986) four Elders are highlighted, all of whom are highly respected in their regions and statewide. The authors provide great details of the Elders' life history, including their stories and personal experiences of their Alaska Native culture and their artwork. These four Elders are from different Alaska Native groups. Considered master artists in their particular fields of Alaska Native art, many of their stories are shared and imbedded with their understandings of identifying as Indigenous. This is the type of book I envision for skin-sewing, especially including the strong voices behind the skin-sewer. *Kammak* references from Lena Sours from Kotzebue provide a very good overview of skin clothing made in her area, relevance of skin clothing in pre-contact days, and how this changed in her lifetime. Because this is over thirty years ago, I think it would be timely to include more Native Elders of today to write in this format to help understand further changes to Alaska Native cultures today.

Cydney Martin's unpublished dissertation (2001) *Mediated Identity and Negotiated Tradition: the Iñupiaq Atigi 1850-2000* describes the Iñupiaq women's role with skin-sewing and the fur parkas (*atigi* meaning fancy parka) in connection with spirituality and meaning in these two quotes,

> [Fur] Clothing constructed by women mediates the physical and spiritual relationship between humans and animals and, in contemporary times, the dialectic between tradition

> and modernity that defines contemporary Inupiat identity (p. 109)…Elegant [fur] parkas from the late 1800s with precise, tightly sewn stitches and painstakingly detailed decorative trim attest to the attention that seamstresses lavished on their work. (p. 114)

Martin describes the tenacity and willingness to strive for perfect stitches in skin-sewing, which I believe demonstrates many Iñupiaq values, such as Hard Work, Spirituality, Love of Children, Love of Others, and Respect for Elders (see Figure 3, Chapter One). Martin writes with admiration about Iñupiaq sewers, and broadly explores the underlying perspectives of the Iñupiaq women's role of skin-sewing and parkas, which provides a foundation for understanding skin-sewing in more contemporary times. Even though Martin is not Iñupiaq, she gives one of the most elaborate and thoughtful summaries when it comes to skin-sewing literature; however, being in a university library dissertation database, it is not readily available to the public. Portions of Martin's work have been integrated into other literature, such as in *Alaskan Eskimo Footwear* (Oakes, Riewe, & Apatiki, 2007), with Martin being acknowledged as one of the main contributors. Beyond academia, I can see work like this interpreted for children's books, or books in general to highlight Iñupiaq skin-sewing.

Locus of Popular Research: Canadian and Greenlandic Inuit

Arctic Clothing (King, Pauksztat & Storrie, 2005) provides an excellent description of the construction of many different Arctic garments, including fine photos and descriptions of these clothing items. However, the focus is mostly Canadian and Greenlandic Inuit, and not much about Alaskan Iñupiaq. Although it can be argued the Canadian and Greenlandic Inuit style of skin clothing and ideas around why they are made are closely related to the Alaskan Iñupiaq people, I feel Iñupiaq perspectives are still not fully understood. Explanations of the skin-sewn garments in the book are generalized, and include how designs are created from an

outsider's view. Stories and examples are used, but it is the voice of the non-Indigenous author which permeates much of the book content.

Our Boots (Oakes & Riewe, 1996) covers many detailed descriptions of the construction of fur boots in Inuit culture in a wide range of regions in Canada, and is aimed at a large audience interested in boots in Indigenous history. As mentioned previously, even though the Inuit are closely related to the Iñupiaq and Yup'ik people of Alaska, I feel representation of the Iñupiaq people of Alaska is needed in literature today. Understanding the construction of skin-sewing and *kammak* is important, but this book includes only limited opinions and ideas of the creation of designs of *quli* by the skin-sewers themselves. This is a macro-view of several different regions of Canada and the Inuit *kammak*. This book discusses the process of tanning, and cutting, and how to piece skin boots together, and does not discuss the deeper knowledge of understanding why the designs were made or how they were passed down from generation to generation. Good examples of different animal skins and techniques are also recorded here. The use of interviews about the boots and their construction are noted wherever possible; however, the overall sense of the book is still an outsider's perspective.

As a follow up to *Our Boots*, *Alaska Eskimo Footwear* (Oakes, et al., 2007) was produced to examine Alaska Native fur boots. Regional differences across Alaska and similarities of styles and designs of *kammak* are included through a wide range of supporting photos, descriptions, and drawings. This supports a basic understanding of an Indigenous point-of-view of skin-sewing, but the book is still written from an outsider's perspective. It does include Shishmaref, where my interest lies due to direct family ties, but the views are again focused on the "construction of" who wore *kammak*, and different types of sewing techniques and patterns. There is very little of the worldviews or relationship to cultural identity of skin-

sewers included. Even though Apatiki (Siberian Yup'ik), Joan Hamilton (Cup'ik), Toni Muktoyuk (King Islander), and Cydney Brynn Martin (from outside Alaska, unknown) are included as resources (in the online citation) and as consultants of this book, it is clearly noted in the introduction that they are not the main authors. I do appreciate the work that went into the high quality photographs and the descriptions, as they are still very important. This book is clearly focused on Alaska in contrast to the previous book with its broad focus on Inuit cultures from Canada to Greenland. Another book by Oakes, Riewe, and the Bata Shoe Museum (1998) *Spirit of Siberia: Traditional Native Life, Clothing, and Footwear* focuses on Siberian Natives in the Far Eastern region of Siberia. Again, this book is wonderfully produced with photographs, descriptions, and an outside perspective of their traditional life.

Other Arctic Peoples

Native Carvers and Outsider Artists: Patterns of Interaction in Siberian Eskimo/Chukchi Ivory Carving is a peer-reviewed article by Mitlyanskaya, Davis, and Krupnik (1996), which examines understandings of Siberian Yupik ivory carving design from men's traditional views. Many designs meanings in older ivory carvings are discussed from the late 1800s and early 1900s, and the article includes information about the significant changes due to the introduction and influences of colonization onto the Chukchi and Siberian region. This article contributes towards a higher understanding of ivory and scrimshaw designs, where these ideas of creation can transfer to women's skin-sewing. For example, the use of stories in their ivory production is discussed, as well as the various materials the ivory carvers used, including other creations such as prints, etchings, and jewelry. History of the Uelen ivory carving activities and progression under different directors in a specific ivory carving workshop are examined, highlighting the loss of knowledge,

> Most [N]ative ivory carvers in the 1970s lacked sufficient knowledge of their own traditional and [I]ndigenous art, of its profound and valuable legacy. This lack of knowledge is accentuated by the poorly arranged public support for [N]ative art, as well as its undervaluing by the local state agencies dedicated to the funding and support of [N]ative Chukchi and Eskimo artwork. (p. 76, Mitlyanskaya, et al., 1996)

This article is from an ethnographic and an outsider's point-of-view. Igor Krupnik, a noted and well-known anthropologist who specializes in Inuit, Siberian Yup'ik, and Chukchi research, edited this article for accuracy. I happened to come across this in an internet search, which makes this article is largely inaccessible to the wider public, who may not have use of a computer or know the specific search terms to access this piece. The audience is clearly aimed at peers in anthropological fields.

Pendergrast, Lipka, Watt, Gilliland, & Sharp (2007) and Watt, Lipka, Webster, Yanez (Central Yup'ik), and Andrew-Ihrke (Central Yup'ik) (2006) produced teacher guides for curriculum adapted to public schooling in Alaska, in which I include two here: *Designing Patterns: Exploring Shapes and Area* and *Patterns and Parkas: Investigating Geometric Principles, Shapes, Patterns and Measurement* include ideas related to skin-sewing and the Yup'ik worldview. The guides' overall focus is using cultural activities, such as skin-sewing, to derive Yup'ik mathematic concepts and understanding from a Yup'ik point-of-view. Yup'ik concepts of math are compared in western terms, so this is very helpful to teachers or educators who are interested in aligning lesson plans with standardized math content required for K12 settings. The main theme is the "construction of" several different simple projects, including modeling designs used in skin-sewing which can be easily reproducible in the classroom.

In the mathematical guides, cultural historical origins of why certain colors or materials are used, as well as traditional Yup'ik stories are included to explain traditional uses of Yup'ik

mathematics. However, the Yup'ik information is de-contextualized into curriculum lesson plans and inserted into a western framework. The guides do include Elders' views, however tends to generalize Yup'ik worldviews. Even though traditional Yup'ik knowledge is examined, the focus is toward a greater mathematical understanding for the purposes of K12 math education. In the *Designs and Patterns* guide, designs in traditional fur parkas are well described, but the skin-sewers' view of why the designs are included and created is still diminished from a fuller understanding into the Yup'ik worldview. In the acknowledgements, however, quite a few Yup'ik people are thanked for their contributions to the overall project, but in the lessons, the Yup'ik personal voice is missing. What I admire about these guides are the lessons that challenge the K-8 teacher to integrate more local and Indigenous knowledge into the public school classroom, including Alaska Native history and culture.

Insider/Outsider Perspectives

Jo-Ann Archibald's *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body, and Spirit* (2008) is an excellent example of why storytelling is important to Indigenous cultures. Archibald explains how to understand an Indigenous worldview from *Sto:lo* and *Xaxli'p* First Nations' (British Columbia, Canada) perspectives, including how their worldview relates to cultural identity, and the reasons why stories are told. Values and traditions give stories context, and are discussed from an Indigenous point-of-view. Even though this is not describing the Iñupiat point-of-view, many Indigenous groups have similarities among worldviews such as valuing the earth and its role, how their people relate to the earth (or to the supernatural), and values, such as Spirituality, Hard Work, and Responsibility to Tribe (Greenbank, 1996, Tennant, 1989). Several techniques of storytelling are discussed that can be applied to a greater understanding of Iñupiaq cultural identity and can give context to today's modern world. Many Indigenous people include

experiential learning and first-person views in their way of teaching (Greenbank, 1996, Tennant, 1989). Several techniques of storytelling are discussed, can be applied to a greater understanding of Iñupiaq cultural identity and can give context to today's modern world. Many Indigenous people include experiential learning and first-person views in their way of teaching (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; Drabek, 2012; Kawagley, 2006; Leonard, 2007; Martin, 2001; Kingeekuk & Din, 2012; Pendergrast et al., 2007; Shutt, Biddison, & Crowell, 2014; Tennant, 1989; Watt et al., 2006; Wilder, 1976). Archibald's methodology exploring what it means to be Indigenous is applicable to my methodology of understanding what it means to be Iñupiaq. Helping to explain why things are links a person with their cultural history and the functions of cultural activities. I am hoping in my analysis that this understanding of "being" can be brought out.

In her book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* Linda T. Smith, a Māori researcher from Aotearoa (New Zealand) (2012), provides strong opinions and directions for Indigenous researchers on how to examine and re-examine historical data and "facts." I can apply her methodology to examine resources through an Indigenous lens in an Iñupiaq worldview context. This means that we must examine the information that is given to us in a public setting, such as public school curriculum, and see what information is missing or truncated in ways that impact Indigenous peoples. Local history needs to be redefined to include Indigenous people's voices of historical events. It is an excellent opportunity for Indigenous researchers to rethink outside what has been taught to them in public school systems, including at the university level. Historical trauma, or the social issues plaguing Indigenous people, for example, are not mentioned in public school textbooks, and not often highlighted as a part of everyday understanding of most Indigenous groups who have been colonized. Often Indigenous people are perceived as the people of the past, and not modern or changing. Smith's book has

become a guide for many Indigenous peoples and scholars to move past the hurt, and acknowledge the misguided "truths" about how their people are viewed. Readers are encourage to tell their own stories, name their own heroes, and embrace their own perspectives as part of the process of *Decolonizing Methodologies*. Understanding decolonization is very useful here to apply to my homeland region and to our own Iñupiaq history. I applied this methodology to my research.

Shishmaref's History of the Role of Women and Skin-sewing

Evidence of Shishmaref's long history of skin-sewing can also be found in old missionaries' and schoolteachers' published books. In the book *Of Eskimos and Missionaries*, Henriette Lund (1974) speaks about the role of the Iñupiaq women circa 1931,

> Ingeborg Dahle, in a report to the Women's Missionary Federation, stresses the role of women. "The Eskimo woman is friendly and helpful while leading a busy and hard life. She is a clever seamstress who can take accurate measurements with her hands and can design fur garments for utmost warmth while they are at the same time loose, light, and comfortable…Her mukluks are the warmest in the world and she makes them endlessly, for her children are hard on footwear, as are children everywhere. She cuts the soles of the mukluks from sealskin whitened by freezing, and the uppers from seal or reindeer hide." (p. 77)

We can see the role of women in Iñupiaq culture was and still is important for skin-sewing and overall well-being, however the activity of skin-sewing has diminished greatly. Shishmaref's higher quality of skin-sewing and the process of making *kammak* are also discussed by Edward Keithahn (1963) in *Eskimo Adventure: Another Journey into the Primitive*. Keithahn, a schoolteacher who lived in Shishmaref from 1923-24 states,

> Water boots are the mukluks you wear in summer when the tundra is just one big, soggy marsh. They are of hairseal skin, dressed without hair, and have soles of oogruk leather. The oogruk is a large, bearded seal with extra-thick hide. If well made, these water boots are paper light and absolutely water-proof. For this reason, both whites and Eskimos prefer them to rubber boots. In fact, much of the money income of this village derived from the commercial manufacture and sale

> of water boots. So well made were the Shishmaref boots that they commanded a premium of fifty cents over those of other villages. (p. 15)

This passage further illustrates the important role of women skin-sewers in Iñupiaq culture. My research further explores the roles of skin-sewers as related to Iñupiaq identity in my findings (Chapter Four).

Newspapers and Online Resources

Dunham's article *Willy Topkok aims for the Spectacular with his Sewing* (2009), in the Anchorage Daily News highlights the skin-sewing skills of one artist who overcame perceived boundaries around Iñupiaq traditional roles, men's responsibilities, and other stereotypical ideas of what Iñupiaq men should do as a trade. Willy *Newpealuke* Topkok (referenced as *Newpealuke*) explains how he became a respected skin-sewer/Alaska Native artist, even though men are expected to become ivory carvers. *Newpealuke* challenged Iñupiaq traditional roles by taking on what is thought to be woman's work, because he preferred it to ivory carving. We must recognize that colonization also imposed the idea of patriarchy into many Indigenous cultures, and I have yet to fully explore if men's roles in the past included skin-sewing as a profession. This article highlights the fact that cultures are always changing, and are constantly moving forward. The article also highlights the difficulties in redefining traditional roles, but showcases new ideas that help repatriate and reclaim Iñupiaq skin-sewing. Although written by a non-Native, this article authentically shares *Newpealuke*'s voice in embracing Iñupiaq worldview through his skin-sewing. This has good potential for reaching a larger audience in Alaska, versus other publications like books, which people often cannot afford in most rural villages.

Dissertations, Theses, and Other Academic Sources

I have conducted searches for academic purposes related to skin-sewing and two examples came up as significant findings. One dissertation by Cydney Martin in her work *Mediated Identity and Negotiated Tradition: the Iñupiaq Atigi – 1850 – 2000* (2001) explains her story of exploring Iñupiaq women and their activities related to skin-sewing, and included contemporary works of machine-sewn articles of clothing, such as fabric covered parkas, mittens, and other Iñupiaq winter clothing. She has lived in a few places in Alaska, including in the community of Utqiaġvik (Barrow). Her observations of sewing Iñupiaq garments is very helpful, as she calls to attention to the important contributions of Iñupiaq women in providing clothing for living in our cold, harsh state. I agree with her views of the women and the underlying values that are also shared in earlier historical literature about Iñupiaq culture. The worldview of women is brought out in her work, and Martin highlight the details of what she has learned and recorded. My only criticism is there may be a deeper understanding of beliefs and intangible heritage that is missing, due to the short time frame Martin was exposed to Iñupiaq women's skin-sewing. Martin stated she has been in Alaska for eight years at the time when her dissertation was completed.

Another dissertation I found helpful is by Nadia Jackinsky-Horrell (also known as her married name Nadia Jackinsky-Sethi), *Alaska Native Artistic Revitalization* (2012) from the University of Washington. Her research is a good example of a macro-view of the arts in Alaska from an Alutiiq point-of-view. She is originally from Homer, Alaska. Her dissertation evaluated many different genres of Alaska Native art and had numerous examples to illustrate her ideas and themes behind the revitalization that happened in Alaska since the implementation of the

Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971. This dissertation validates the Alaska Native artist profession through examining the different activities and skilled arts in Alaska. Jackinsky-Horrell describes a multitude of Alaska Native artists from the 1970s to contemporary times, especially focusing on changes in the last fifty years of incorporating Native Art into schools, universities, and places of learning. Both older and younger generations of Alaska Native artists are recognized for pushing the envelope of what it means to "be Alaska Native." This dissertation is a very good example that highlights the deficit of institutions which do not value the Native Arts, and allows us to see where the people have created their own niche specific to their skills, satisfying their income needs as well as their cultural creativity. Jackinsky-Horrell states how her dissertation fulfills a gap in the knowledge of Alaska Native art,

> Artistic revival activities are found to occur as part of the decolonization process, as a result of encouragement from the arts market and governmental powers, and out of a desire among Alaska Native peoples to correct misinformation about Alaska Native history and culture that has been perpetuated through popular media. By examining revival activities taking place throughout the state of Alaska from multiple angles, this dissertation fills in a gap in the art historical literature where previous publications that have examined revival have tended to focus only on Southeast Alaska on the Northwest Coast or only provided limited information on the subject. (Jackinsky-Horrell, 2012)

Through her case studies, Jackinsky-Horrell is able to highlight positive conversations about Native Art in many Alaska Native groups. While her dissertation focuses on Alaska Native Arts, Jackinsky-Horrell focused in Alutiiq masks for her master's thesis. Research like this has a potential to inspire others to expand the knowledge base of Alaska Native Arts from an Alaska Native perspective. However, as a doctoral dissertation, this is also inaccessible to the general public who may not choose to read lengthy works, even though this may be important to many Alaska Native peoples. Jackinsky-Horrell mentions future projects, such as forming a statewide board to address the needs of museums to help update information about Alaska

Native people. One example that comes to mind is when a person is asked how they view museums. Displays can be thought of as static, unmoving, and is a snapshot of a people or culture stuck in time. An inspiration from Jackinsky-Horrell is through her personal voice of her work,

> "I'm particularly interested in connecting our collections with the Native communities they represent," Jackinsky-Horrell says, adding that she is looking forward to working to incorporate more indigenous [sic] voices and curatorial practices into the museum. "I'm really happy to be back in Alaska, working in with the communities I study." (Jackinsky-Horrell, quoted in the *Museum Bulletin*, Alaska State Museum Office of Museum Services, 2011)

Jackinsky-Horrell's future work that focuses on helping Alaska Native people gives me hope that research that can re-envision Alaska Native art today serve the Alaska Native people.

Iñupiaq Authors on Skin-sewing

Secrets of Eskimo Skin Sewing (1976) written by Alaska Iñupiaq author Edna Wilder includes Iñupiaq patterns and instructions in several skin-sewn projects made available to the general public. Wilder based skin-sewn projects of different clothing on her family's Iñupiaq knowledge from the Nome area, and includes regional differences and ideas of why certain garments were made with the designs they had. Wilder also includes adaptations and suggestions to fit the reader's needs if they choose to make the skin-sewn work. It reads well with easy to learn instructions, and the drawings and photos support the processes discussed, such as tanning, cutting, and sewing. I think this is a very important book showing the Iñupiaq point of view from a skin-sewer's- and woman's- perspective, and includes a few Iñupiaq stories about legends involving Arctic animals, people, and myths. It is a good starter book if the reader is interested in learning about skin-sewing. The lessons also discuss reasons why a

garment may be designed in a particular fashion, as to meet the needs of the wearer as well as respond to the harsh elements of Alaska. This book continues to be popular since there have been several prints since the 1976 edition.

More recently, *Seal, Thimble & Sinew Thread: Sewing Art of the Siberian Yupiks from Savoonga, Alaska* (2012) by Elaine Kingeekuk (Siberian Yupik) and Herminia Din covers many different projects, much like Wilder, but also includes non-clothing items, such as barrettes, children's belts, and other small projects. This book is the most recent skin-sewing literature I have found and is localized to Alaska. Descriptions of Siberian Yupik elements of skin-sewn items include why they are created, and are clearly written from Kingeekuk's view. She shares her intergenerational learning from her mother and grandmother, as well as from her extended family. The types of projects shared were either made for sale or personal gifts and heirlooms kept in the family. Photographs with descriptions of how they were made, range from ivory figurines to doll-sized *atikluich*, plural for *atikluk* (the Anglicized "kuspuks" or *qaspeqs* in Central Yup'ik) to fully clothed dolls in skin clothing and hanging ornaments. All are made from materials found originally from St. Lawrence Island and supplemented with man-made materials. Some materials include store-bought colored string or yarn, felt, fabric lining, glass and plastic beads, and imitation sinew, but the majority of the items made are from furs, skins, and natural material from their area. Kingeekuk discusses both traditional designs and contemporary popular designs, with descriptions of changes in designs over time and by whom. Interviews of family members such as her mother, uncles, and aunts are included, but it is clearly Kingeekuk who is writing the chapters and sections using her personal voice. Kingeekuk describes when items were traditionally made, why the designs were chosen, and how they

related to Siberian Yupik history and culture. Smaller sections/portions are written by Din, and an introduction is written by Darrell Bailey, both whom are of non-Indigenous origin. The pictures are large, up-close, and include complete descriptions. The chapters and sections are written in Siberian Yupik first and then translated to English, which implies the audience includes their own people. This is one of the most informative Alaska Native skin-sewing books today, in addition to Wilder. The only reservation I found was that a few of the projects focused more on how the item was constructed, and the materials used, but did not include discussion of the historical value of using or creating the item. For example, the baby belt (pp. 2-3) project for toddlers or young boys to wear outside of their jackets/outer clothing included a description of the materials to make the belt, a short description of why it is made, and how it is an expression of love towards the wearer. What is not mentioned is when (what time of year, or special event) baby belts are given, if there is a particular age range, if the belt is only worn for special occasions, or who in the family customarily makes the belt (other than the grandmother).

Other Iñupiaq Authors on General Iñupiat Life

The general population of authors who wrote early about Iñupiaq life in Alaska is primarily non-Indigenous. Since the 1970s, there are more Iñupiaq authors defining what it means to be Iñupiaq (or Indigenous) through storytelling (e.g. Anderson & Brown, 2005; Greenbank, 1996; Hall, 1975; Leonard, 2007; Tennent, 1989; United States National Park Service, 1996). In these stories, the values and "the ways of being" are integrated and often serve as examples of how one must act. In Oquilluk's *People of the Kauwerak* (1981) originally published in 1973, tells stories of how the Iñupiaq came to be. The legends in this book stem

from many different places in Northwest and Northern Alaska, and set the pace and context of how one learns from their environment and ancestors. Oquilluk spoke in first person, which is very different than many anthropological books, and shared many details in his stories. What was important about his book is it allows us to hear personal accounts of Iñupiaq history. Skin-sewing examples are included in these stories, which describe desired qualities of a skin-sewer. Other examples of Elders sharing through storytelling include many books such as *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* which is imbedded in *Lore of the Iñupiat: The Elders Speak* by Tennant (1989), *Dahl Sheep Dinner Guest: Iñupiaq Narratives of Northwest Alaska* by Anderson & Brown (2005), and *The Eskimo Storyteller: Folktales From Noatak, Alaska* by Edward Hall, Jr. An admirable quality of some of these books that utilize Iñupiaq storytelling is that the stories are confirmed, and reconfirmed, by the Elders with their perspectives and voice preserved. Another feature important is the use of Iñupiaq first is in utilized in *Lore of the Iñupiat: The Elders Speak* where the story is written in Iñupiaq first on one side of the book, then corresponding English on the other side so that readers may read accordingly, especially for those learning Iñupiaq. These books demonstrate that we as a people have many different ideas of why we do things the way we do. We also come from a strong people. Making skin-sewn garments today reminds us we have a proud history, and we should continue these honorable traditions for our future cultural bearers.

Conclusion

Skin-sewing, sharing ideas and designs between generations, learning through experience, and also making time to be with one another, can be an avenue of healing. As I

reviewed the literature about skin-sewing and cultural identity, I was well aware of who the authors had in mind for their audience for the literature and the time period for the publications. Literature that reaches the greater public highly influences the non-Indigenous views of Iñupiaq people. Society and the views of Indigenous peoples all over the world has greatly changed in the last fifty to one hundred years. As more ways of sharing cultural knowledge expands beyond the printed page, different ways of "being Iñupiaq" for fostering personal growth is being shared as well. Being an Iñupiaq skin-sewer today is very different than it was for my mother, or even my grandmothers. I am hoping my research helps others see the richness of the culture and promotes a wider understanding of why we choose what we design, even in *kammak* or other skin-sewn items.

The landscape of sharing cultural knowledge through printed matter is now being challenged as we see new technology, such as social media, e-books, and even further in scholastic curricula as other outlets of sharing ideas and traditions. However, if printed books are not being read, I question how younger generations are learning about their heritage. Different types of literature support different views, and have a certain type of intended audience. A general view of what it means to be Iñupiaq is shared through many literary works, but my research does not include many existing educational curricula from our Alaskan school districts. The oral tradition of passing on knowledge (or applied and experiential learning) is still being practiced, but not at the same level as in the past (Drabek, 2012; Kawagley, 2006; Leonard, 2007). Skin-sewing shared in schools or in learning groups for the younger generation may need to be examined to see if skin-sewing is still viewed as something one "does not participate in" because it is too difficult to learn. This practice of skin-sewing can be viewed as

part of the past, and many may not choose to pursue it as a profession. Learning about our Iñupiaq past strengthens us to know what hardships our ancestors experienced. I believe that is why we keep skin-sewing today, not only to sustain our livelihood, but also to give something back to our children and loved ones as remembrances of our ancestors.

Chapter Three – Methods and Methodology

Introduction

Attempting to erase a civilization and its memory of its languages, traditions, and worldview has happened to Indigenous peoples worldwide. Western colonization worldwide has had devastating effects (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; Commission on Human Rights, United Nations, 1994; Kawagley, 2006; McCarty, Wyman, & Nicholas, 2014; Napoleon, Madsen, & Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 1996). Have Western views replaced Iñupiaq worldviews so much it does not allow an appreciation for all what makes one Iñupiaq? Revealing skin sewers' perspectives of themselves, their values, and ways they express cultural identity is my research.

Parameters of Location of Research

My heritage includes more specifically *Kawaerakmiut* (Mary's Igloo), *Tapqagimuit* (Bluffs of Cape Espenberg), *Noatagimiut* (Noatak), and *Malemiut* (Kotzebue) (Oswalt, 1967, pp. 6-7), and *Kikiktagmiut* (Shishmaref) (personal communication with father Delano N. Barr, 2018). These Iñupiaq communities are part of the Seward Peninsula and are the focus of my research (see Figure 1). Even though these locations are in close proximity in Northwest Alaska, there are still differences in dialects, *kammak*, parkas, and many traditions. Although many designs and color choices in material are shared today through trade fairs and dance festivals, I believe familial and village-specific designs still exist. I interviewed family, friends, and those interested in Iñupiaq skin-sewing, from different regions throughout the Seward Peninsula to see if an understanding of the traditional knowledge base of Iñupiaq culture can be expanded.

History of my Realization

I have encountered many different cultures living in Fairbanks and traveling the world. I believe meeting other Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups enhanced my understanding of myself, as well as my place in my culture. Through meeting other people from different cultures, I learned to appreciate the many traditions and "ways of knowing" amongst these cultures in different areas of the world. Traveling to and living in Norway when I was seventeen as an exchange student in high school allowed me to begin my journey to understand what I knew about Iñupiaq "ways of thinking" and which traditions and activities are important to our way of life. Thinking back on my young self, I can see how my worldview has changed since then. I learned being Iñupiaq includes many things, both contemporary and from the past. "Being an Indigenous person of Iñupiaq descent" is also defined as being "authentic." This also means that our "ways of thinking" should be viewed as equal to Western society, which is very different than from what is taught in public institutions (Battiste, 2008; Boyer, 2010; Drabek, 2012; Greenbank, 1996; Kawagley, 2006; Martin, 2001; Patel, 2014; Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2009; Witherspoon, 1977).

Embracing cultural traditions and integrating it into one's life is difficult (Ongtoogook, 2004; Peat & Peat, 2005; Schoenfeld, 2013; Senungetuk, 1971; Smith, 2000; United States, 1996; Wilder, 1976; Wilson, 2009; Witherspoon, 1977). Ethics, family values, and human values have been challenging for Indigenous people and lead to questions like, "How do I hold onto past traditions and still move forward?" Finding a balance between the old traditions and the new depends on the strength of the person and how they will persist in achieving a balance in their lifetime (Dunham, 2009; Kawagley, 2006; Martin, 2001; Tuck, 2009). However, if we

understand our history, we would know that many Alaska Native cultures before contact were already sharing traditions and values. This sharing of traditions and values are often overlooked or not appreciated in academia today. Western views of Indigenous cultures being "discovered" tends to freeze (in time) components of culture, further decontextualizing many areas of understanding (Fair & Blodgett, 2006; King, Pauksztat, & Storrie, 2005; Oakes, et al., 2007; Oakes & Riewe, 1996). In the realm of skin-sewing, sharing of designs in *kammak* (mukluks) and other fur garments are becoming prevalent, especially since many skin-sewers' deeper, historical knowledge around creating and maintaining family designs and patterns. In the findings chapter, I will discuss more of what I found in relation to sharing designs.

Worldview Concepts of Identity

As many Indigenous researchers observe proper protocol, there are other ways to convey different meanings or many emotions. What an Iñupiaq or any other Indigenous person learns of their culture through personal experiences can reveal their own cultural identity (Craig, 1996; Craig, 1995; Drabek, 2012; Dunham, 2009; Leonard, 2007; Peat & Peat, 2005; Schoenfeld, 2013; Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2009; Witherspoon, 1977). Telling of stories can also be used to illustrate personal experiences (Archibald, 2008; Drabek, 2012; Fair & Blodgett, 2006; Schoenfeld, 2013; Wilson, 2009). These personal experiences can illuminate the creation process of designs in personal fur garments. Reading about Indigenous identity in the limited number of literary works and publications make me see many different views presented throughout history of Indigenous people, but not often from the people themselves (Battiste, 2008; Johnson III, 2013; Ongtoogook, 2004; Patel, 2014; Smith, G. 2000; Smith, L. 2012). Variations of levels of

cultural identity exist from community-to-community, family-to-family, and among individuals. It also has opened my eyes and makes me ask, "How am I Iñupiaq?" As mentioned in the overview, exploring what it means to be Indigenous in the 21st century is a really powerful and moving experience. Fortunately, there are beginning to be more Iñupiaq authors who are sharing more personal perspectives about Iñupiat life, but they are still a minority (Oquilluk, 1973; Senungetuk, 1971).

The process of "cultural restoration" in *Ancient Wisdom, Modern Science* (Boyer, 2010) refers to their Native Environmental Science program, which includes Indigenous curriculum developed and integrated into their college,

> I believe we are performing acts of decolonization by giving our students access to their tribal knowledge. We are adding experiences and knowledge back rather than taking something away from our students or leaving a vacant space. We are helping students relearn their personal and community history. We are helping them regain their connections to the land. (pp. 27-28)

We are seeing the younger Alaska Native generation hungry to learn more, and the landscape is changing to allow for their voices to be heard. However, in Iñupiaq skin-sewing, there is not enough information available to them.

Background History/Discussion of Need

When reviewing Iñupiaq literature that represents our culture, there are many deficit models that focus on negative social issues such as drug and alcohol abuse, domestic abuse, the loss of language, and loss of knowledge in our villages in Alaska. These areas are valid, but my research will focus on the components of the culture, which highlight self-determination and increasing self-awareness by restoration. Iñupiaq people can rebound from the historical trauma and turmoil experienced in the last one hundred and fifty years by concentrating on positive and

healthy activities to enhance our well-being. But it cannot be done alone. By allowing space to discuss the need to rebuild and restore our resilience in our Iñupiaq ways can facilitate generation to generation sharing through meaningful individualized learning activities and experiential and group learning. Through sharing of this knowledge can lead to positive skin-sewing experiences. Highlighting these types of learning through interviews in my research is also analyzed.

Storytelling from a Personal Perspective

Jo-Ann Archibald's *Indigenous Storywork* (2008) talks about basket weavers who are identified through their designs. Their designs also explain their relationships to "family, community, nation, land, and nature" (p. 2). It is through these familial relationships that I explored storytelling as a method to find out why Iñupiaq skin-sewers of Shishmaref (or in Northwest Alaska) make mukluk designs *(kammak quli)* or other fur garments. Further exploration led to how and why they created their designs, their viewpoints of their culture, and revealed the power of their mind. Archibald connects story to Indigenous research and allows the reader to see powerful connections to their past, present, and future, through the use of Indigenous stories. Archibald understands there are many different issues to consider when listening to and interpreting stories, and the complex processes involved from the listener to the storyteller. Her methods of sharing short, but poignant stories, illuminate values, connections, and relevant lessons help me understand how I may explain (and explore) designs of Iñupiaq skin-sewing in today's world.

Humanizing the Research

In *Revisiting Keres*, Romero-Little, Sims, & Romero (2014) "humanize research" through highlighting participant's voices and not treating participants as research "subjects." As

Indigenous researchers, we are tasked to be well aware of the cultural protocols and thus make sure our methods are respecting these protocols. This is expressed further in *Revisiting Keres* regarding "praxis in gifted education [as] a methodology that illuminates the Indigenous voices of contemporary Pueblo members while promoting intergenerational transmission of knowledge, understanding, and appreciation among youth, elders, and teachers" (p. 161). Conducting research while focusing on human realities and respecting the culture and protocols highlight the goals of Indigenous research (Alaska Federation of Natives, 1993; ARCUS, 1999; Association of Alaska Native Educators, 2000; Battiste, 2008; Commission on Human Rights, 1994; Johnson, 2013; Kawagley, 2006; McCarty et al., 2014; Ormond, et al., 2006; Owlijoot, 2008; Patel, 2014; Smith, C., 2013; Smith, G., 2000; Smith, L., 2012; Wilson, 2009).

Writing from a Native and Narrative Perspective

Māori scholar Linda T. Smith (2012) illustrates the importance of a researcher being able to write from an Indigenous perspective, which may lead to richer conversations. I have found Iñupiaq skin-sewers who share this insight on how they look at their world, how they come up with designs for *kammak* and other traditional clothing, and how it represents their Iñupiaq identity and heritage. This provides a view into the context of their world. Smith (2012) also illustrates the importance of knowing our past,

> Coming to know the past has been part of the critical pedagogy of decolonization…Telling our stories from the past, reclaiming the past, giving testimony to the injustices of the past are all strategies which are commonly employed by indigenous [sic] peoples struggling for justice. (pp. 34-35)

My research demonstrates there are other worldviews other than the dominant Eurocentric worldview. These Indigenous viewpoints are valid, important to be studied, and need to be

presented from an Indigenous perspective.

Understanding Indigenous Knowledge Systems/Methodologies

In Western societies, Indigenous knowledge systems are not well recognized at an academic, general, and societal level. This has repercussions for Iñupiaq people as their knowledge systems and worldviews may not be seen as authentic. Their feelings need to be valued, and deserve to be studied by and with Inupiaq peoples. Indigenous people often note the researcher would gather knowledge to be "owned," and not value the opinions of the people themselves (Peat, 2002; Smith, 2012; Witherspoon, 1977). Skin-sewers may not even recognize their stories and views are valid, beyond ethnographical or anthropological contributions to Western academia. However, today there are more and more Indigenous researchers emerging and contributing to literature that which helps enlighten non-Indigenous groups in understanding those knowledge systems (Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2009). I would like to bring those knowledge systems out by examining personal stories and experiences in creating *quli* in *kammak*, or designs in traditional skin-sewn items.

Indigenous methodologies have come a long way as mentioned previously in Chapter Three. The worldviews of all Indigenous people (including Iñupiaq people) are now being shared and recognized in many areas in academia, and more so in Alaska with Oscar Kawagley's work. I am using the term *worldview* as defined by Kawagley, Tull, D., & Norris-Tull (2009), in their article *The Indigenous Worldview of Yupiaq Culture: Its Scientific Nature and Relevance to the Practice and Teaching of Science*,

> [W]e will refer to the term worldview as a means of conceptualizing the principles and beliefs - including the epistemological and ontological underpinnings of those beliefs -

> which people have acquired to make sense of the world around them. Our usage is intended to be consistent with Webster's new world dictionary of American English (Neufeld & Guralnik, 1991), which defines worldview as "a comprehensive, especially personal, philosophy or conception of the world and of human life." (Kawagley, et al., 2009)

The understanding of worldviews across cultures is important because in many ways, it shapes an understanding of oneself. Recognition of cultural activities is one way to strengthen the ties between identity to culture, while sustaining Indigenous knowledge from generation to generation. Fikret Berkes mentioned several points in his article, *Indigenous ways of knowing and the study of environmental change* (2009), that resources that can help our understandings of Indigenous knowledge,

> The diversity and range of traditional knowledge, its audiences, and media types and communication modes have all expanded over the years (Bonny & Berkes 2008). There are distinct audiences (e.g. indigenous [sic] organisations, educational institutions, co-management agencies, researchers and managers) and an increasing range of media types (e.g. print media, maps, DVD/video, audio, CD ROM and websites). The experience in Canada shows that the willingness of indigenous [sic] elders [sic] to share their knowledge has resulted in the production of a range of indigenous [sic] knowledge outputs for joint problem solving. This partnership effort has resulted in materials that can be communicated to different audiences with multiple uses in mind. Perhaps most important, it has helped indigenous [sic] people meet their own educational cultural and political needs. (Berkes, 2009)

Because of Alaska's current state of internet connectivity, there are still limited means of sharing knowledge across platforms including, software, social media sites, and even a limited number of telephone and cellular data communication companies. There are some improvements, for example, in the use of Facebook, there is a woman originally from Noatak and Kotzebue who has become an excellent Iñupiaq skin-sewer. Due to timing and to limited contacts with her, I could not interview her, but I have witnessed "conversations" she had about her skin-sewing via Facebook. In some conversations, there was much support of her work whenever she shared her

photos of progress in a large parka or other skin-sewn project in the form of "likes" and positive comments. One such conversation emerged about her work on a fancy fur ruff called a "sunshine" ruff, which is recognized as coming from Kotzebue. She also shared the backside of her sewing to show her stitches. She often shared her process, from beginning to end and gave pointers of how she sewed or cut her pieces. Then later, she posted a video of herself putting some of the pieces together in another project, and a lot of people showed appreciation of her sharing her knowledge.

It is positive influences like this that can bring knowledge of skin-sewing to the everyday person, regardless of if they are Iñupiaq or not, to a level of understanding of how and why we make our designs. I am hoping in the future the Facebook skin-sewer may work with a video production company and perhaps produce instructional materials for future skin-sewers. Then again, one of the Iñupiaq values is Humility, which means one does not try to promote oneself above all others, and projects or producing books for individual sales is tricky in the Iñupiaq communities, since it can be construed as positioning oneself to be higher than others.

In the example of the woman sharing her skin-sewing techniques and processes via social media, we can see in Iñupiaq culture how skin-sewing can be a tool to teach about Iñupiaq values. Further sharing of personal narratives can enable other Iñupiaq people who may be interested or already immersed in Iñupiaq culture to recognize their own worldview. It is understood that no two people think alike, but there is much more to our culture than what is on the surface. In sharing my family's experiences and showing their relationships to one another I strive to understand the underlying knowledge that has built up over time in a skin-sewer's life. Berkes (2009) also shares about complementary knowledge,

> Some years ago we characterized indigenous [sic] knowledge as being a kind of learning-by-doing, or adaptive management (Berkes et al., 2000)…Indigenous knowledge evolves all the time and involves constant learning-by-doing, experimenting and knowledge building (Berkes, 2008); I would speculate that, on the whole, it is probably not more conservative than Western science. (p. 154)

Complementary knowledge across generations needs to be examined in Iñupiaq culture. Expanding this knowledge base by pursuing cultural identity will enhance our understanding of the Iñupiaq worldview. This learning-by-doing is already a process utilized in skin-sewing.

Iñupiaq Identity

Much of the Indigenous literature and articles has been published about being human and by extension, understanding identity. This is one of many topic areas I examined. Being able to examine the Iñupiaq identity through the lens of an Iñupiaq person is so important. To fully understand the concepts of the values and beliefs of the Iñupiaq people, there needs to be more shared on these concepts with the understanding that all Iñupiaq voices are valid and authentic in their own right.

Linking Stories to Creation Designs

Archibald (2008) connects story to Indigenous research and allows the reader to see powerful connections related to their past, present, and future, through use of Indigenous storywork. She understands there are many different issues to consider when learning about stories and processes involved from the listener to the storyteller. In order to understand how this relates to designwork (as noted in Chapter One) in *kammak* and the imagination of skin-sewers, we have to examine the stories surrounding skin-sewing and the ideas of creation in the traditional sense as well as in contemporary works.

Archibald (2008) highlights the "energy" of storytelling as, "…a source of power that feeds and revitalizes mind, heart, body, and spirit in a holistic manner…to appreciate a story's connection to my spiritual nature" (pp. 84-85). By providing local stories in a variety of ways that share cultural concepts and ideas, Indigenous children would learn positive things about their own culture, and help reinforce positive behavior in the community. Thinking back about stories I learned of Iñupiaq origin, these stories help shape and enforce Native values that exist in my own local communities in Northwest Alaska, such as Shishmaref, Kotzebue, and Nome. An example is when we learn not to whistle at the Northern Lights, as they are spirits of our ancestors, and if they heard us whistling, they would scoop down and snatch our heads and play with them. This story may not relate to skin-sewing, but gives us an idea of how preserving legend stories and past knowledge are important in maintaining the value of respect for example, when observing nature or natural phenomena.

Storytelling Through Skin-sewing

Jo-Ann Archibald (2008) discusses the differences of the written story versus the one being told by a storyteller, "the written record of their stories lacks the nuances of our interpersonal intersection and the depth of the emotion and humour that were shared" (p. 93). I can read all about the construction of *kammak* and other traditionally skin-sewn work, and know the differences behind different designs, but I do not share the emotions of the skin-sewer unless I know the context of when the garment was made or whom it was made for. For this to happen, I need to know their stories. Archibald (2008) continues,

> My imagination was challenged to visualize the stories' plots and characters and to think about the possible meanings of the stories. It was as though these stories became embedded in my body, in my emotional being, in my consciousness, and in my spirit. (p. 93)

When someone connects with activities such as skin-sewing at such an emotional level, there are nuances within Indigenous knowledge, as Archibald shares, which one may not be able to describe. For my interviews, we did not reach that level. Stories in skin-sewing are important and offers a glimpse into the Iñupiaq worldview of why these garments were made, and how they serve many purposes. Some interviews gave stories, but most content focused on overall explanations. Personal perspectives given of why a garment is made, connects us to a specific time in the past, and highlights our relationship to each other as a giver and a receiver. They also remind us of the ingenuity of creativity from the skin-sewers in our culture.

Methods

In preparing for my research, I envisioned conducting group discussions and interviews of individuals as the main methods of collecting data. I conducted interviews via telephone, or Skype, or Google Hangouts, to connect with many of my interviewees. I also conducted several interviews in person, during which I either took photographs of participants and some of their skin-sewn items, or they shared photos after the interview. I obtained consent (see Appendix B) for recording audio of the interviews to ensure the stories or knowledge I collected were accurately recorded. My research methodology is qualitative. I used the word 'mukluk(s)' since it is a common word throughout Alaska. My research questions were,

1. Where are you from? Where is your family from?
2. Do you skin-sew? If so, how did you learn?

3. Can you describe your items you have sewn? Which items would you say you like the best?
4. Are there other cultural activities that you associate skin-sewing with?
5. If you do not skin sew, do you have experiences of skin-sewing by observation of family members or someone close to you?
6. Do you or your family own mukluks, and if yes, do you know if the designs mean anything?
7. Do the designs have stories behind them, why they were made?
8. How old are the mukluks or designs? Who made them? Are they alive today?
9. Do the mukluks or designs mean anything to you? Family values or other?
10. Are the mukluks or designs of importance to you and your family?
11. Is there a connection of your mukluks or designs with your cultural background? To you?
12. Do you have anything else you would like to share with skin-sewing?

There were a variety of open-ended questions to help illicit discussion in one or more areas of skin-sewing so each interviewee choose to discuss further an area of expertise. There were also areas I became interested in to help give a more holistic view of skin-sewing, and so I supplemented those areas with literature and internet research.

Ormond, et al., (2006) also talk about "horizontal marginalization," and how Indigenous researchers encounter obstacles with their own Indigenous people because they enter the realm of academic researcher (p. 176). As I conducted research in my own culture, I was well aware of my responsibility to others and myself to do my best to represent them well, and share what I learned in an appropriate manner. I do not want to misrepresent participants, so I verified all knowledge gathered to ensure my work would meet the standards of Indigenous and research protocols. This process also involved properly respecting the knowledge and stories as belonging to the Iñupiaq people being interviewed. I communicated often with my interviewees via social

media or email. Data was shared and reviewed with my interviewees and collaborators to ensure all parties were happy with the results (Archibald, 2008; AFN, 1993; Owlijoot, 2008).

Clear two-way communication and involvement provides a better understanding of the results and how information can be shared later. The skin-sewer, or interviewee, can decide on how the stories are shared, and if they can be shared in academia or for educational purposes only. I addressed this in the consent form as it is important to clearly discuss parameters in the beginning, as this serves as the foundation of the continuing relationship to respectfully represent their shared knowledge. All of those interviewed agreed to share with local schools and tribal organizations, as long as I notified the interviewees prior to sharing information. They understood and signed the consent form willingly. I interviewed nine people for my project on Iñupiaq skin-sewing, identity and descent.

After I conducted the interviews, the summaries were typed, and shared with the participants to give them the opportunity to check for errors and to add more information if needed. I also shared my summary findings with the interviewees so they had an understanding of my whole project. I shared my abstract and overview with a few community-based organizations on the advice of my interviewees/project participants. Tribal and corporate organizations notified included the NANA Regional Corporation (a regional corporation created by Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) located in Kotzebue, which serves as a regional hub), Shishmaref Native Corporation (village corporation), Native Village of Shishmaref (tribal council), Native Village of Teller (tribal council), Bering Straits Native Association (regional corporation, located in Nome, further south on the Seward Peninsula and larger than Kotzebue, also a regional hub), and Kawerak, Inc. (a non-profit tribal organization

also located in Nome). All of these organizations have boards and Elders who could be interested in my work, as my interviews involved their shareholders or tribal members. Of the mentioned organizations I shared my preliminary description of my research, I received three responses, from Teller (tribal council), Shishmaref (tribal council), and Kotzebue (regional corporation).

Methodology

A study of methodologies can enhance our understanding of skin-sewing, as articulated in this quote by Dementi-Leonard and Gilmore (1999), who brought in a valuable perspective on Indigenous identities,

> Numerous social, political, and economic influences attempt to de-construct and reconstruct the lifestyles and identities of indigenous [sic] people. Indigenous people are under constant scrutiny by outsiders who evaluate all aspects of their lives- their progress and accomplishments or, too frequently, their assumed lack thereof. Indigenous cultures are the subject of media and scholars'/researchers' attention and study, which too frequently appropriate bits and pieces of the indigenous [sic] cultures to serve their own purposes. Too often these isolated tokens of culture contribute to romanticized and historicized entertainment for the dominant culture and perpetuate damaging characterizations and negative stereotypes of native [sic] people (e.g., see Churchill 1994 for a powerful discussion). Much of the academic and popular depiction of indigenous [sic] people starts with the assumption that the culture and language are dying or already gone. (p. 38)

Through an examination of these identities, we can derive substantive evidence that there are more to worldviews than just a few individuals. The study of a people can be extensive, as demonstrated by the many Iñupiaq studies by ethnographic research from the mid-1800s to mid-1960s (Hippler & Wood, 1977), but theoretically, studying individual voices can give us a further glimpse into the culture, identity, and worldviews of those people. My Indigenous methods include gathering interview data over a period of time and comparing these data to help support new theories around the formation of identity in skin-sewing and integration of Iñupiaq

values.

Another one of my goals is to work towards a positive transformation for the participants using their knowledge and to apply the findings in a way, which encourages and uplifts our Iñupiaq beliefs, values, and self-esteem of the people. I outlined the themes or correlations among participants that led to cultural identity. Carefully studying evidence from the interviews after collecting the data, builds the foundation of why the skin-sewers sew, and how this activity relates to "being Iñupiaq." My strategy included asking questions about skin-sewing and how the participants feel about the process of skin-sewing. I evaluated the outcomes in a way to help define Iñupiaq values and cultural identity. In a community such as Shishmaref, where the nation has heard about their erosion problem, there are many other issues at hand, however, my focus of my research is to highlight Shishmaref's skin-sewing history. While my research is centered on an activity which can be considered "old world knowledge," it still highlights cultural connections of skin-sewing to Iñupiaq values and how skin-sewing activities are alive today.

Analysis and Presentation of Data

Understanding the context of skin-sewers' design and why the garment is made is part of my analysis. Certain Iñupiaq values emerged as predominant when looking at skin-sewn items. Ownership, representation of pride, as well as Respect for Others, Spirituality, Hard Work, and many other values are present (see Figure 3). Why a garment is made and how it represents being Iñupiaq is different from one skin-sewer to another, but comparisons with past descriptions from anthropological or ethnological accounts were also considered in the analysis. Stories told by Iñupiaq Elders from during Elders' Conferences, *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* stories, and other literary

sources also support these main themes. For example, when *kammak* are are examined, there are many things that come to mind. The value Spirituality emerges when looking at the *kammak*. The spirit of the animal caught, the skin, the tanning process, and the ways in which the animal skin is viewed as "precious" during this process is represented in the skin-sewn item. Respect for Others is another value, which can mean respect for the animal and for the person who has spent valuable time skin-sewing the *kammak* for. More will be explained in the findings chapter.

Further analysis includes applying an ethnographic context to the social patterns that exist between family members, or other community members who may be skin-sewers. For example, the relationships including daughter to mother, to grandmother(s) highlight mentorship in skin-sewing techniques as well as craftsmanship, balance, and use of available materials at hand (Kellman, 1996). Recognizing the skin-sewer has an important role in the community and a positive support system can help build relationships for those who choose to skin-sew. A more personal approach is applied when looking at my families' matrilineal lineage. Another finding includes the garment's role as a pathway to strengthen and develop relationships from skin-sewers to the recipients of their work. This is often very briefly touched upon in skin-sewing literature. Martin (2001) explained relationships within a community through skin-sewn or hand-sewn garments in her research related to the *Iñupiat Atigi* (Iñupiaq fancy fur parka), and the development of the skin-sewn parka to today's more preferred fabric-covered parkas,

> During my travels the clothing that people wear has continued to fascinate me - in particular their strikingly beautiful and eminently functional parkas. I have delved into historical records and photo archives, trying to understand the origins of the garments and their evolution in design and meaning. It has been a rewarding endeavor that has illuminated the historical, social and political processes that have shaped contemporary Inupiaq identity, and also the identities of other Native and non-Native groups in Alaska. (p. xvii)

Sharing of ideas and respecting designs in parkas are very much a large part of the culture of skin-sewing. Even though the material changed to modern fabric and lining, the ideas of how to properly represent family is still embedded into the designs, which make the parka (or other hand-sewn garments) distinctive.

Possibilities for presenting my research after this project include books of photographs and diagrams, focused on Iñupiaq cultural activities such as skin-sewing. Sharing of stories in a book can be a visual guide that facilitates deeper knowledge of meanings, relationships, and the Iñupiaq worldview. I would like to share for educational purposes. This will also depend on the wishes of my participants and the community organizations involved. The best way to share my research is through multi-media presentations, including physical examples of skin-sewn garments from my family, and those who were interviewed.

Challenges

There are many challenges in my research. There are less knowledgeable Iñupiaq skin-sewers found today, and the activity is not being passed down to the next generation as before. There is a lack of interest in the younger generation possibly due to the view that the activity of skin-sewing is seen as too difficult to learn. I personally experienced this when I was younger. When my mother gave me my first skin-sewing project to complete, it was a pair of sealskin slippers. What I realized is that I did not show an interest in skin-sewing before given this project, and by the time she asked me to sew my own sealskin slippers at the age of thirteen years old, I was already interested in other activities such as reading, drawing, and doing well in school. I think my mother already evaluated my ability to concentrate when I was younger to see

if I was interested in skin-sewing, but I did not show an interest. It was not until I was older in college, and when I had my own sons, that I saw reasons to make skin-sewn items.

Another challenge that may influence interest is if a family that chooses not to continue the skin-sewing tradition, due to an inability to obtain the needed furs through a lack of hunting skills or other resources needed for hunting. Even though furs may be bought from other families (those who can hunt) or purchased commercially, the cost of furs may be so high it is not affordable to the family. Most furs are now sent out of the local community to be commercially tanned, and there are very few tanneries in Alaska available. However, there is the Shishmaref Tannery, which is only open during sealing season. Most of the clients are from Shishmaref and surrounding villages. Another reason for a lack of potential skin-sewers is current skin-sewers are clearly recognized widely in the village or region and are often approached by those who wish to buy their items. Many potential buyers would rather purchase well-made items than make the items themselves. Why skin-sewing may not be pursued as a profession may also stem from the importance of pursuing traditional Western careers. Having a career may be seen as more successful than handicrafts or traditional arts. Skin-sewing is not a professional career recognized at the university level. There are not many courses offered in skin-sewing, unless the activity is added into the curriculum under Native Arts. Sustainability in a skin-sewing profession is also dependent on the buyers' availability to support existing skin-sewers and artists. Because this is largely unpredictable, the activity of skin-sewing can be considered unstable economically. There are many reasons why skin-sewing may not be prevalent in villages other than Shishmaref, but these are a few reasons why that come to mind. Due to time constraints during my project, I was not able to address this.

Tourist Art vs. Heirloom Skin-sewing

My mother, Minnie E. *Saumik* (Onalik) Barr of Noatak, has sewn many fur garments in her life. I grew up seeing her working on many Iñupiaq seal skin slippers, mittens, *kammak* (mukluks), Shishmaref style horn dolls, and many other items made out of fur and other natural materials supplemented with fabric, felt, and beads. The majority of what she was sewing was sold as "tourist art" to make money, but there were some garments such as mittens, sealskin slippers, and dolls she also made for family members. She made all my sons sealskin hats, which kept us very warm in the winter, and my sons grew up with sealskin booties when they were very young. I consider the items she made my sons heirlooms, and the practice of making items for loved ones is still very much alive today. The designs used in tourist art are considered general art designs, since most designs evolved around what sold best and may be the easiest to make. I see other skin-sewers sell their work at major festivals or functions where the artists would sit as vendors, i.e., Festival of Native Arts (FNA) and the World Eskimo Indian Olympics (WEIO). However, there may be a loss of designs, when items are discontinued in a family who no longer skin-sews. Another way designs would be of lesser quality or a lose fancywork qualities is something my father has witnessed in ivory carving and jewelry. Some Iñupiaq artists who produce poorly constructed ivory objects or jewelry for sale, are not adhering to quality and are actually promoting poorer designs. The artists are not striving to carve better items (personal communication, 2016). This does not mean all skin-sewers (or ivory carvers as in the example given) are poor sewers. Selling their work does not make the garments worth any less, as a sewer still can have a higher quality of work. Poorly sewn work that is sold may be seen as representing a skin-sewer's lack of values. Most people who are potential buyers see this poorer quality once they realize there is higher quality work elsewhere.

Colonialism and the Current Cash Economy Vs. Pre-contact Subsistence Economy

Currently, cash is needed to pay for housing bills include electricity, phone, fuel, transportation, and commercially made clothing. Everything that is now required to run a household is very demanding on families to survive. This is a big difference from the pre-contact days of Iñupiaq people versus today's people living in Alaska. Oscar Kawagley (2006) in *A Yupiaq Worldview: A Pathway to Ecology and Spirit*, comments strongly about how a Yupiaq household would depend on themselves, were strong (physically and mentally), went out and hunted the animals, and used the available resources in their region to their benefit without depending on man-made fuel, cars, snowmobiles, and guns like today. The Iñupiaq people were nomadic and similarly did not need cash to buy household items or food. Colonialism came with the introduction of non-Iñupiaq people who traveled to Alaska and introduced new and different ideas of living and surviving. These new ideas have replaced much of what sustained Iñupiaq people long ago. The lifestyle of long ago was very unforgiving, harsh, and life threatening, when one did not know how to take care of themselves or their family in times of famine or hardships (Kawagley, 2006; Oswalt, 1967; Ray, 1975). However, we cannot go back to that time and our people now live with a mixed economy, still living a subsistence lifestyle, dependent on hunting animals in their local region, and dependent on a cash economy. Another challenge is there are new ideas of "how to live" coming into villages today through television, radio, and social media. These new ideas permeate cultures across the globe. Through popular culture, skin-sewing can be seen as an activity that "nobody does anymore" or not a source of income that is readily available. Skin-sewing "takes too long" to reap the benefits of payment; in comparison to other professions, such as a job at a local organization or business.

I do know when my mother worked on her skin-sewn garments, she sewed the garments well and she worked hard making them. However, when we look at the perceptions of skin-sewing, when the purpose of the items are for family, or loved ones, the items are considered much more valuable. I think it depends on the artist, what they are making, and if they see themselves having pride in the work they do. There are many Iñupiaq artists who work very hard in making their items, and value each garment as such. There is a skin-sewer who comments that she much prefers to make items that are worn and used, as opposed to making items for display. The skin-sewer appreciates the curiosity and representation of making dolls for instance, but if there were a need or request for skin-sewn hats or mittens, she would rather spend the time on making those instead (Oakes et al., 2007).

Deeper analysis of interviews and the literature could highlight concepts that would be difficult to describe to those not familiar with Iñupiaq culture and traditions. Some descriptions of Iñupiaq *quli* (designs) may hold different or multiple meanings. When I read skin-sewing literature after listening to my interviewees' comments and responses to my research questions, it became clear there are many meanings around designs and reasons why they skin-sew. There has been an appreciation of understanding Iñupiaq culture from within, and asking these types of questions is helping me understand what it means to be Iñupiaq.

Review of my Limitations

As mentioned in Chapter One, many challenges the skin-sewers have in their lives outside of skin-sewing include dealing with poverty, demands of having children, alcoholism and drug abuse. These challenges may be present in everyday life, and often portray Inupiaq people in a negative way. Other challenges are life choices a lot of young people are encouraged to

make, for example, continuing past high school to higher education. Attending a university or vocational school is emphasized, and there is a need for young people to obtain degrees, such as in areas of business or being an educator. However, in Alaska, in order to get an academic degree, most people need to leave their home to go to Fairbanks, Anchorage, Juneau or other regional hubs (or leave the state, depending on their degree they are pursuing) to further their education. Other choices to obtain a degree can involve distance courses, such as Elementary Education or Rural Development. My methods of my research did not involve if skin-sewers pursued other careers.

Qualitative Ethnography

My matrilineal family is a large focus of my research. I utilized personal experiences as well as recorded interviews to help support my hypothesis on how cultural identity is shaped through experiential and generational learning of skin-sewing. This in turn, supported Iñupiaq values, which emerged as the foundation of what it means to be an Iñupiaq person today. Interviews of extended family and others interested in the ideas of cultural identity are included. This project can be described as a personal ethnographic narrative, since I am using a mixed-methods approach in using interviews and examining the skin-sewing literature. As earlier ethnographers of Iñupiaq people described the many traditions and activities important to families living in Alaska, I am using this approach towards the activity of skin-sewing.

Conclusion

A macro-view of the Iñupiaq worldview allowed me to examine skin-sewing as a portal into understanding cultural identity. Highlighting the values of skin-sewers' experiences is important to encourage future skin-sewers to keep learning and to express themselves in creative

and fundamental ways. These expressions allow future skin-sewers to further understand of Iñupiaq worldviews existing in literature today. Their perspectives change over time, and cultural ideas of design can change accordingly. There are concepts of design that will become a common thread through the generations. Visiting and revisiting those ideas will be adding to the foundation of pride, respect, and willingness to learn this activity, helping to maintain well-being for Iñupiaq skin-sewers or those who choose this as a profession.

Chapter Four: Findings

Introduction

I interviewed several groups of skin-sewers considered knowledgeable of this craft. In my first group of interviews conducted in April 2016, I asked four Iñupiaq women to share their knowledge about skin-sewing designs and their women's chin tattoos (*tavlugun* meaning tattoos specific to the chin in Iñupiaq – Kobuk dialect). Their traditional Iñupiaq chin *tavlugun* are part of skin-sewing because these designs are created by women and are applied by skin-sewing techniques. These techniques include hand-held poking and skin-stitching. The second group interviewed telephonically, were my immediate family: my mother, father, and my youngest sister living in Shishmaref. For this group, I also draw information from personal experience, as well as questions from my immediate family about my paternal and maternal grandmothers' histories and their skin-sewing skills. I used literature as well since my grandfather Gideon Barr was the focus in the book *Ublasaun* (United States National Park Service, 1996), and supplemental information was included from *Alaska Native Art: Tradition, Innovation, Continuity* (Fair and Blodgett, 2006). The third group interviewed included my extended family: my husband's cousin who is a male skin-sewer from Teller/Mary's Igloo, and my father's cousin whose mother was a fine skin-sewer from Cape Espenberg and Kotzebue. Both interviews were conducted in June of 2016 in Anchorage, Alaska. The fourth group (by extension), are my great-aunts and great-great grandmother's generation who were skin-sewers. I interviewed nine people in total for my research.

Idea of Culture and Identity

Renato Rosaldo (1993) defined specific aspects of culture in *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis: With a new Introduction*, "Whether found in the museum or at the

garage sale, culture is always already laced with the politics of conflicting ideologies" (p. 64). This brings out the idea that one cannot fully explore culture without examining all the complexities of its components. While interviewing my collaborators I considered the politics, economics, social customs, priorities, and everything that comes with trying to understand culture. If many parts of this paradigm are not included in the examination of the culture, then one needs to at least acknowledge these parts and how they affect the whole culture, and this must also be discussed and analyzed in the findings. There are a myriad of ideas coming from many individuals of the same culture. The strongest viewpoints that come out in my analysis, ultimately leads towards a portal into cultural identity.

First Group – Regarding Iñupiat *Tavlugun*: Women's Traditional Chin Tattoos

In the first group I interviewed in late April of 2016 were Charlene Apok, Holly *Mititquq* Nordlum, Marjorie *Kunaq* Tahbone, and Meghan *Sigvanna* Topkok, whose ages ranged from mid-twenties to mid-forties. The four women are not related to me, although one of them is my husband's niece. Their families come from Utqiaġvik (Barrow) and White Mountain, Kotzebue, Nome, and from Nome and Ambler, respectively. Designs of *tavlugun,* an Iñupiaq women's tradition, are related to skin-sewing, since one of the ways to apply *tavlagun* includes a needle, thread, and soot (Burch, 1988; Chance, 1966; Oswalt, 1967). I learned that when Iñupiaq women came of age long ago after their first menses, they often received the *tavlugun* shortly afterwards. An older woman in the family would apply the *tavlugun*, keeping in mind family designs as well as application techniques. Skin-sewing designs are a way for women to identify themselves as being Iñupiaq and include the tradition of tattoos. Those interviewed expressed their choice of reclaiming a lost women's ritual by applying *tavlugun* on themselves tells me the importance of recognizing and revitalizing continuing traditions. My father told me when he was growing up in

Deering (and later in Shishmaref), he remembers all the women older than his mother had *tavlugun* on their chins (personal communication, n.d.). When I asked him to if he could re-draw a design, which would have been a family design, he said he could not. He remembered the common image of older women from surrounding villages having designs on their chins and faces. I remember seeing a grandmother in Shishmaref with a chin tattoo when I was probably five or six years old. I later asked my mother if she could identify this grandmother was, and if she remembered the grandmother's chin design. This was in preparation for my own *tavlugun*, however my mother could not draw the design.

I have had a *tavlugun* since 2011. It was clear that more Iñupiat and Inuit women from Canada (specifically Nunavut and Iqaluit regions), Alaska (Kotzebue, Nome, and Barrow), and also beginning in Greenland have been recently revitalizing the lost cultural ritual of women's tattooing in the last three to four years. I know of more women being interested and receiving *tavlugun* because I have been asked to join a social media group for women who have received their *tavlugun*. This social media page has allowed us to converse about personal reactions, discussion of designs, and respect of the women's tradition of *tavlugun* as well as tribal tattooing which may include other parts of the body. I will not share much beyond this, as it would be impossible for me to receive permission from each member of this social media page, and it would violate the understanding we already established before I started writing my master's project.

In my grandmothers' generation, Iñupiaq women's tradition of tattooing on the face, hands, and arms was viewed as a negative attribute to women and especially in young girls in the early 1900s. This essentially broke the bonds of womanhood in families. The pressure of encouraging Iñupiaq girls to not be tattooed was a form of assimilation into Western society and

was enforced by early missionaries. The only evidence I can provide is both my paternal and maternal grandmothers did not have *tavlugun* (or any tribal tattooing of any kind), and they were 89 and 93 years of age when they passed away. I never had a chance to ask personally why they did not have a *tavlugun*, but know they were strong Christians in their lives, and today the church is still a prominent presence in their villages of Shishmaref and Noatak.

The interviews with the four women were conducted individually. One of the themes that came across is having a strong sense of self. Having a *tavlugun* permanently on your face is a brave act, even some of which are family designs. When I am asked about my own *tavlugun*, I explain when I was younger, I performed (and still perform) Iñupiaq dancing in Fairbanks. The women in our dance group were encouraged by my husband to draw (using eyeliner) women's chin tattoos for those performances. After more than several years of continuing this tradition of drawing on a fake tattoo for performances, I felt like I was taking my culture off when I cleaned my chin afterwards, thus feeling like I was no longer Iñupiaq. Later in 2010, when I started asking tattooists in Fairbanks, whom were all men, if they can apply a chin tattoo, all were very clear they were not familiar with the practice of facial tattoos, so they would not apply one on me. I ended up receiving my *tavlugun* in November, 2011, from a woman tattooist in Hawaii, of whom participated in Māori women's tattooing previously. Understanding the history of a tradition is very important, and knowing the tradition of *tavlugun* originated from a women's tradition in Iñupiaq culture was very satisfying. The four women I interviewed expressed they are often asked about their *tavlugun* and they gladly share the history behind this women's tradition. Sharing their story of why they have *tavlugun* supports the idea of having a cultural identity, and freely sharing it openly in a visual way is having the freedom to express our own

identity. Several of them researched up to a year for their particular designs, and wanted to make sure the designs are "authentic" and from their family, village, or particular lineage.

Several of the women interviewed also had some experience with skin-sewing, and a few of them are more experienced than others. They understood the basic knowledge of skin-sewing through personal experiences from learning from their families or others who were willing to teach them. In expressing their views of skin-sewing, the women identified as being Iñupiat, which is a huge part of their lives. Each has their own reasons why they applied their *tavlugun*, but one thing is clear, they are strong women. Holly *Mititquq* Nordlum is an artist and often expresses her Iñupiaq cultural identity through her artwork. Both Nordlum and Marjorie *Kunaq* Tahbone learned first-hand activities, which include traditional women's activities of cutting up and butchering large and small game animals, and preserving Native foods. Tahbone made her own ground squirrel parka with the help of her mother and her extended family. Tahbone has embraced Iñupiaq tattooing for women so much she is now pursuing her master's degree in the subject. Nordlum is also pursuing the profession of an Iñupiaq tattooist as well as an artist. Nordlum has presented to the public in many forums about the applications of women's tattooing traditions in Iñupiaq culture. Nordlum offers openly her knowledge of what she learned to other women. Nordlum also has been working closely with another woman from Greenland about the women's tradition of skin-tattooing. Both Nordlum and Tahbone have worked together in tattooing workshops and through this collaboration, opened up conversations that women's traditions have not been lost, but just re-awakened in today's generation.

Charlene *Aqpik* Apok shared her views of sewing around the act of getting garments ready and having them completed in time before a major festival or function where new garments may be worn. These new garments with their designs highlight social ties and openly

display Iñupiaq values. When I asked Apok about the values she thinks of when wearing newly sewn clothing, and proudly designed Iñupiaq fashion, she mentioned Hard Work, Spirituality, and Humility. Working hard to complete garments before major events, including *kammak* for the family, meant there was a proper time to show your skills and share how fortunate the family is to have the materials (fur or fabric) to complete them. This is also recognizes valuable sewing skills in that family. Apok shared she had a conversation with an (unnamed) Elder in Utqiaġvik, in which the Elder did not know how to skin-sew (or chose not to) after returning from boarding school when the Elder was young. The Elder told Apok she buys her skin-sewn garments such as slippers from Shishmaref, and would gladly continue buying them from her contact person there. This demonstrates there must have been a huge loss of knowledge in skin-sewing in the last one to two generations, and is not limited to just skin-sewing. This also demonstrates that those who are skin-sewers today are appreciated more for their skin-sewn garments, as those garments are bought for those who do not sew. It also makes me appreciate growing up with my mother who sewed sealskin garments at home and seeing now my sister take on the profession.

Apok supports skin-sewing, and sewing in general. Apok shared her view on the role of designs in sewn garments, which still play a large part in being identified as Iñupiaq. The designs are very well protected under a courtesy rule where people in the same village or in the same region do not copy designs amongst families, thus preserving the intergenerational designs kept in the family unit. Wearing certain recognizable designs can unify all the family members by displaying those specific designs in their parkas or *atikłuich*, plural for *atikłuk* (Iñupiaq summer shirt-style garment). Apok also shares that in addition to being able to identify who other people are when you first meet them, the designs in their parkas or garments can let potential suitors know who they can pursue (or be friendly with), even before asking who their parents or

relatives are. In the instance of recognizing "friend or foe," long ago there were enemies that one might meet while hunting or gathering. From a distance, viewing the decoration can help identify the person before being in close proximity. This is touched upon in a few of the literature summaries which include regional differences in certain patterns of *kammak*, but there is not much beyond this sort of description from the skin-sewers' point of view shared in this manner.

A very specific view of skin-sewing came out in the article *Community History and Environment as Wellspring of Inupiaq Eskimo Songtexts* (1988), which helps demonstrate the value of skin-sewing in previous times,

> Another Inupiaq [sic] cultural value appears to be connected with specific family roles and images. Within Inupiaq [sic] family life, the role of the mother is greatly honored, for it is her bone needle which "makes the hunter," as the traditional saying goes. The mother's bone needle makes all of the fur clothing which protects against the cold, makes the waterproof clothing which protects against the sea, and makes the skin sides of the boats which catch the meat on which the community depends for survival. Indeed, in many stories and songs, it is the 'magical' needle which performs miracles, such as allowing the boy to pass through the narrow doorway of his dwelling, after he has eaten a whale. (Johnston, 1988, p. 168)

This relationship of the family unit working in harmony to ensure survival is a testament to the resilience and tenacity of the Iñupiat who lived in harsh conditions. I feel this group of interviewees and including my family is well aware of this idea of survival. This is an underlying concept of why we still conduct the activities into the present, not only for continuation of our cultural identity, but also to foster an understanding what our ancestors experienced which is part of our being today.

Meghan *Siġvanna* Topkok (referenced as *Siġvanna*) also shared her experiences of skin-sewing. She grew up in Oregon and in Ambler. Her family did not skin-sew originally, but as *Siġvanna* was approaching adulthood, she wanted to learn more of her Iñupiaq culture and heritage. *Siġvanna* has been in Alaska now several years and also worked at the Beringia Center

in Nome, under Kawarek Corporation, Inc. (a local tribal non-profit). She originally learned skin-sewing from a book from Point Hope, but later learned under Tahbone and Tahbone's mother in Nome. *Siġvanna* spoke of being able to refine her stitching under the guidance from the Tahbone family, and now can make sealskin slippers, mittens, baby booties, and many other items. She related she even made her own mukluks (*kammak*) in the fall of 2015. In relation to her *tavluġun*, and the design she chose, she researched where her family came from, and because she grew up far away in Oregon, she chose a more general *Sitnasauk tavluġun* design recognized in Nome; a design consisting of a simple wide band in the middle and the two lines on either side applied to her chin. I was very privileged to be present when *Siġvanna* was in Fairbanks in 2015 and able to draw her *tavluġun* on her chin for the tattooist to apply permanently. For *Siġvanna* to receive her *tavluġun*, she described getting it as if she felt like she finally became a woman, since she completed her bachelor's degree recently and was ready to enter into the world with this new role in life (personal communication, 2016).

Second Group - My Immediate Family

The second group I interviewed was my immediate family: my mother, father, and youngest sister. Knowing our cultural history and our heritage is important (Dunham, 2009; Fair & Blodgett, 2006; Fienup-Riordan et al., 1986; King et al., 2005). Learning about my family history of skin-sewers was a large part of my research. Knowledge of Family Tree is an important Iñupiaq value. In researching my matrilineal lineage of skin-sewers through my family tree (see Figure 9), I learned about mentorship, their personalities, and why we have certain family names. The women's names in bold are the skin-sewers, much of whom were considered "very experienced" (personal communication with my father Delano N. Barr, 2018), and includes my youngest sister DeeAnn Sophie *Anauraq* (Barr) Ningeulook. I must note in

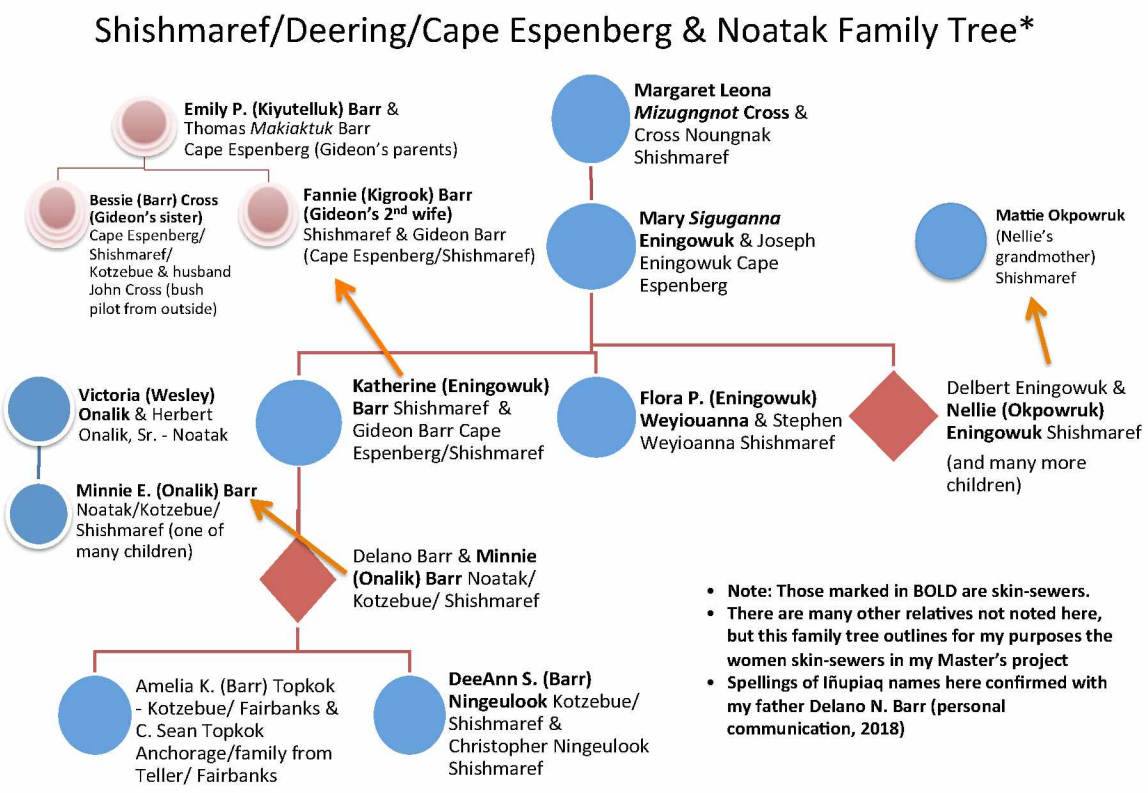


Figure 9: My Family Tree representing the matrilineal lineage of skin-sewers from Kotzebue, Noatak, Shishmaref, and Cape Espenberg. Note: those in bold are skin-sewers, family tree made by Amelia K. (Barr) Topkok, 2018.

Shishmaref, my sister is not the only skin-sewer, and this family tree may not include other family skin-sewers or other members of my extensive family. I would encourage others to use family trees to learn about family members, as well as learn Iñupiaq (or Alaska Native) names.

My mother Minnie Esther *Saumik* (Onalik) Barr, originally from Noatak (see Figure 10), was also a skin-sewer for necessity l in her lifetime, but she had a different focus. Most of her skin-sewing would be sold to tourists. She was sewing to help bring extra income into our family while my father worked at a full-time government position. I am one of six children and four of us lived at home, so it was beneficial to my mother to have this income. She herself is one of eleven children, so the knowledge of learning to sew came at an early age, since she often helped her mother in taking care of her younger siblings (personal communication, n.d.). Within her

Figure 10: My mother Minnie Esther *Saumik* (Onalik) Barr of Kotzebue/Shishmaref, Alaska. (Personal photo, 2013)

immediate family with her siblings, my mother was the main skin-sewer of many garments and items. Her sisters did not make items like my mother (personal observation, n.d.), which I have seen personally when I visited Noatak.

Over time I learned that my mother selling skin-sewn items gave her purpose and also a sense of self-worth, as she was able to make enough extra income to buy a bit more clothing or needed items in our family, or for things other than bills. My mother learned skin-sewing from her mother, and my sister learned from my mother (personal observation, n.d.). I have grown up seeing how the value of skin-sewing in everyday life was passed down from generation to generation. The value of skin-sewing persists today amongst those talented enough to make items for sale. As mentioned before, some of my mother's skin-sewing included many sealskin slippers with beaded tops, Shishmaref-style horn dolls of reindeer horn dressed in fur parkas and *kammak*. My mother made several *kammak* for her and her grandchildren, and sealskin hats to name a few. Sharing these images of people is important in my research. It illustrates their

identity, and provides context when we know their names and their histories. In addition this knowledge enriches our understanding of others. My mother commented her mother made her skin-sewn garments, for example, *kammak,* when she was young. Making of *kammak* came out of necessity as it was preferred to wear instead of Western shoes in the winter, or in getting regalia ready for Christmas program. Other items my maternal grandmother made were sunshine ruffs for my mother's parkas, which are made from wolf (outer part) and wolverine (inner part). My mother sewed for a good part of her life, but she cannot sew now due to arthritis, which limits the use of her hands. My mother was instrumental in teaching skin-sewing to my youngest sister DeeAnn Sophie *Aanauraq* (Barr) Ningeulook. I remember my mother giving small sewing projects to Ningeulook when she was six or seven years of age, which is often when skin-sewers evaluated their daughters to see if they were able to handle a needle and thread and able to follow directions well.

My mother married my father on December 20, 1969, three months before I was born. When she married my father, Delano *Naunaq* Barr of Shishmaref, she had to learn how to cut and butcher seals, walrus, and caribou since my father was an avid hunter (personal observation and personal communication, 2017). My mother being from Noatak, an inland village up the Noatak River from Kotzebue, had previous experience butchering seals, beluga whale from the coast of Sesolik (a community summer camp across Kotzebue Sound), caribou, and many different types of fish from the river. My mother's skin-sewing skills started in Noatak, where she was expected to make her own *kammak* starting at the age of nine or ten years of age (personal communication, 2018). Other items my mother learned to sew were fabric clothing, parkas, and even cotton shirts, learning patterns from older relatives in Noatak. Making clothing was important, partially due to a lack of nearby stores, and being one of eleven children, they did

not have enough resources to cloth them all.

Through my father, I was able to ask questions about his maternal grandmother's skin-sewing skills. My father's role in the family included being the hunter and provider for both my Gram Katherine and my immediate family, both economically and in the traditional subsistence roles of men. My father is one of three children from my paternal grandfather Gideon Barr (mentioned earlier in Chapter One) who remarried when my father was five years old. My father has many other half-brothers and sisters from my paternal grandfather's second wife and family. Being the oldest son of the three siblings, my father became the provider of the family for his mother, who never remarried. Understanding Iñupiaq family history and the value of knowing your family tree and teaching it to younger generations are also considered an important Iñupiaq value. My paternal grandmother's skin-sewing skills are demonstrated in my father's fancy *kammak* (see Figure 2 in Chapter One). My father lent the *kammak* to me to preserve in the family, as well as to use them in our Iñupiaq dancing here in Fairbanks.

My youngest sister DeeAnn Sophie *Aanauraq* (Barr) Ningeulook (referenced from here as Ningeulook, see Figure 11), who is under 35 years of age (and 15 years my junior), has followed our matrilineal lineage of sewing and is the skin-sewer of the family. As mentioned previously, Ningeulook has learned from my mother. My sister also mentioned when my parents moved from Kotzebue to Shishmaref in 1998, she learned skin-sewing from the Shishmaref Elementary School through high school in the bilingual programs (personal communication, 2018). Her main mentors were John Sinnok and Nora Kuzaguk, both of whom were bilingual teachers at the school. Another mentor my sister mentioned was our Gram Katherine. Gram would teach her to skin-sew sealskin slippers and baby booties. Another one of my sister's

Figure 11: My sister DeeAnn Sophie *Aanauraq* (Barr) Ningeulook of Shishmaref, Alaska. (personal photo, 2014)

mentors was Flora Weyiouanna (see Figure 12), our maternal grandmother's sister, who taught my sister how to make hard-bottomed soles later in life.

My sister has an admirable work ethic, and it shows in her skin-sewing. I consider my sister an excellent skin-sewer for her age, as she has been persistent in learning the skills needed and is recognized as an established skin-sewer in her community. She is not the only skin-sewer in the village of Shishmaref, but is one of those recognized as the "baby-bootie" maker. Ningeulook shared with me if people wanted baby booties (baby *kammak*), then the potential buyers will approach her. If they want another type of skin-sewing (that they themselves do not make often), then they would go to another skin-sewer in the village. If a skin-sewer needs beaded designs and doesn't have enough time or the materials to make the designs, then they can buy the designs in pairs from another person in the community. In this aspect, they all help each other and have developed a system where one can specialize in one or more designs or garments,

Figure 12: My great-aunt Flora *Paniseaq* Weyiouanna, great uncle Delbert *Ahnahkoozuk Sahsook* Eningowuk, and my paternal grandmother Katherine *Koiyuk Ahnaughuq* (Eningowuk) Barr of Shishmaref, Alaska, early 1990s. (personal family photo, n.d.)

and this supports a variety of skilled skin-sewers.

An increasingly rare skin-sewn item is the *ugruk* (bearded seal) soles for hard-bottomed *kammak*. Ningeulook has learned to sew hard bottom *kammak* from our great-aunt Flora *Puniseaq* Weyiouanna of Shishmaref. My sister also sews many other projects learned from our mother and grandmothers, such as mittens, baby booties, parkas, parka ruffs, and dolls. Shishmaref is a seal hunting community, so a source of skins is plentiful through hunting and hard work harvesting in the spring and fall. This difficult skill of sewing hard bottom *kammak* is not common in today's Iñupiaq society (Fair & Blodgett, 2006; Fienup-Riordan et al., 1986; King et al., 2005). However, depending on the village, there are efforts to teach these skills again to those interested. For example, the Northwest Campus, (part of the College of Rural and Community Development), offered a for-credit course that my sister enrolled in to learn how to make the hard-bottomed soles from our great-aunt Flora *Paniseaq* (Eningowuk) Weyiouanna of Shishmaref.

Skin-sewers can exist in a community, have their own ideas, and have an admirable

ability to create, which some people say they themselves do not possess. We miss out in these contexts and relationships when we examine *kammak* or other cultural items displayed individually in a glass box in a museum. I am afraid the skill of preparing and sewing different furs will dwindle in the years to come, unless more is done through visual sharing to help highlight the positive aspects of Iñupiaq skin-sewing. The ideas and values expressed through my research highlight Iñupiaq identity and explore how the purpose of skin-sewing garments is essentially tied to our culture. I also hope to inspire those who might have an interest in sewing to continue to learn, and learn *quli* designs in their region. Jana *Pausauraq* Harcharek, an Iñupiaq woman from Utqiaġvik, shares her personal experience of her grandmother teaching her how to skin-sew,

> She advised me throughout the making of the parka, not only about how to make a packing parka properly, but about how to live a good productive life, with a mindset towards being responsible first to community, and about raising children based on a foundation of a sensible, strong, and consistent set of human values. (King et al., 2005, p. 29).

Harcharek highlights the values taught when one is learning skin-sewing. These early interactions between generations also allow for life lessons, and how a person must be or act in Iñupiaq society. This is very evident when we look at other Indigenous groups who are teaching their children about their culture and traditions (Lehtola, 2010). My paternal and maternal grandmothers were skin-sewers all their lives. They grew up into adulthood where skin-sewing as a skill was a necessity.

My Grandmothers – Memories of Skin-sewing

Another group I researched is my grandmothers, including my paternal grandmother who I spent a lot of time with when I was younger, and my maternal grandmother who I got to know through my relations on my mother's side of the family. Through photos and memories, I will

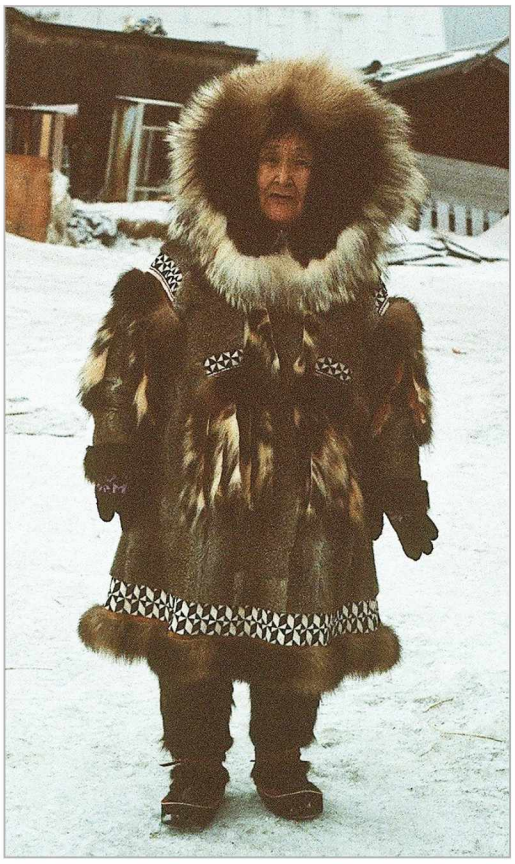


Figure 13a (left): My Gram Katherine Barr of Shishmaref, in her fancy parka. (photo by Steve Dahl, Lutheran pastor, late 1980s or early 1990s)

Figure 13b (right): Gram Katherine working on sealskin slippers while laying down, Shishmaref, Alaska. (personal photo, later 1990s)

share what I know of their lives and how their era changed drastically and how they kept skin-sewing. This group also includes my great-aunt who was my paternal grandmother's sister-in-law, and my paternal grandfather's sister, both of whom are from the same generation. I look back with admiration at their lives and recognize the work they had to do to ensure our family's survival. Going beyond surviving is also recognizing the fact that to sew fancy parkas or *kammak* is time-consuming and demonstrates the value of Hard Work in showcasing these garments in the community.

My paternal grandmother Katherine *Koiyuk Ahnaughuq* (Eningowuk) Barr (referred to as Gram Katherine or Great-Gram by relatives, see Figure 13a and 13b) was born February 2, 1916, in Shishmaref, Alaska and passed away December 21, 2009, at almost 93 years of age. In her time, her family was semi-nomadic when she was young, and her father was a reindeer herder. Her parents were Joseph and Mary Eningowuk. My father, Delano *Naunaq* Barr, was raised by

Gram Katherine and her mother Mary, as well as guided by other uncles and relatives in Shishmaref after he was five years old. His first five years of life was in Deering, which was a mining town long ago. In describing my Gram Katherine, I provide many personal experiences and memories as well as from my father. It was through my great-grandmother Mary, that my father learned how to speak Iñupiaq (personal communication, n.d.). He was born in Deering in 1943, which was a mining town and people spoke English as the dominant language over the local Iñupiaq people. Gram Katherine is who I am named after. In my childhood, my father would bring our family from either Nome or Kotzebue to Shishmaref every summer. We would spend time with Gram Katherine to help provide seal meat and other game animals to store away for the rest of the winter. It is my Gram Katherine who also helped taught my mother Minnie to make Shishmaref-specific skin-sewn items, as well as teach these same items to my youngest sister DeeAnn. As mentioned previously, my mother being from Noatak meant she grew up with caribou from the surrounding mountains, seal from the Kotzebue Sound, a variety of whitefish from the Noatak River, as well as many different types of trapped animals.

Shishmaref is located between the Chukchi Sea and a large lagoon, which is a prime spot for providing an ample supply of marine mammals including a larger variety of seals, as well as salmon, and waterfowl. My Gram Katherine learned skin-sewing from her mother Mary, and from her grandmother Margaret Leona *Mizungnaat* Cross. I remember my Gram Katherine working on sealskin slippers for family or to sell (see Figure 13b), and working on mittens for the younger children in the family. There was even a pair of sealskin pants my father used for hunting, which he said was warmer and easier to wear than the newer ski-pants (personal communication, n.d.). Later when I was a teenager, I remember visiting my Gram Katherine and other relatives in Shishmaref for Christmas week in 1986, and during this trip, I was able to wear

Figure 14: Me, Amelia Katherine *Ahnaughuq* (Barr) Topkok (middle), with two cousins in our fancy parkas, Shishmaref, Alaska. The parka on the left of me was made by Nellie Eningowuk, my great-uncle Delbert's wife, and the parka on the right of me was made by Nellie's daughter. (personal family photo, 1986)

Gram Katherine's fancy parka (see Figure 14). I am very fortunate my father has allowed me to inherit this fancy parka and it is with me in Fairbanks, only because I am his oldest daughter, and he wanted me to keep it as an heirloom. Seeing this parka and revisiting memories of her makes me want to design another parka based on this heirloom, and inspired me to think I should take up skin-sewing in the future. However, I may need to substitute different fur skins as the parka is made with ground squirrel skins; I learned later from Tahbone it takes about 40-50 ground squirrel skins to make one parka. I also have read in *Ublasaun*, one fancy parka can take several years, and several generations to complete (United States National Park Service, 1996).

The fancy parka is discussed in detail by Cydney Martin in her dissertation, *Mediated Identity and Negotiated Tradition: the Iñupiaq Atigi 1850-2000* (2001),

> When considered within the age-old Inupiaq subsistence system, the position of women and the role of parka sewing suggest that both are critical to the maintenance of the human/animal relationship central to Inupiaq culture. The Inupiaq parka is seen to

> mediate between the physical and spiritual relationship of humans and animals and, in contemporary times, to make tangible the dialectic between tradition and modernity that defines Inupiaq identity today. (Martin, 2001, p. iii)

Further in Martin's dissertation, she described the *atigi* (fancy fur parka in Iñupiaq) as the window into understanding the creativity in hand-sewn garments with designs and can transfer different meanings or values, such as representing family units, or demonstrating perseverance and tenacity to finish a hard and difficult project like a full-sized fur parka. I see the same perseverance in making the designs in the tops of fancy *kammak*. When I take a closer look at the parka my Gram Katherine made, I can see it took a long time to envision, cut out, prepare skins, and then think of the designs long before it was completed. I also wonder how many times she had to take out stitches if the skins or designs were not sewn right the first time? And who helped her? I would need to travel back to Shishmaref and ask my relatives as a future project if I want to find out more information. My father commented to me he doesn't remember who helped her then (personal communication, n.d.). I would not be surprised if it was my great-aunt Flora who helped, or it could have been my great grandmother.

My Gram Katherine grew up in Shishmaref, and her parents were Mary *Siquganna* and Joseph Eningowuk (see Figure 15). Joseph Eningowuk may have chosen to have his Iñupiaq name as his last name, since during this time period, Iñupiaq men had to choose between keeping their Iñupiaq name as a first or last name. In the photo of Gram Katherine with her parents there is substantive evidence that skin-sewing was an important aspect of Iñupiaq beliefs and worldviews. Both my paternal grandmother and grandfather were of reindeer herding families and as such, my Gram Katherine and Gideon were set up in an arranged marriage, which was common long ago. Joseph Eningowuk owned the largest reindeer herd for a period in Seward Peninsula (personal communication, Delano N. Barr, 2018). In Figure 15, it is clear the style of

Figure 15: My Gram Katherine as a little girl (middle, standing) with her parents Mary and Joseph Eningowuk, Shishmaref, Alaska. Note, little Phillip Eningowuk is packed on Mary's back (Family photo, estimated date 1924-1926).

design on the fancy parka my great-grandmother Mary wore, still had the u-curve of the bottom of the parka. This is keeping with traditional designs, and it was not until the 1940s and 1950s and later that fancy parkas for women were made with a straight bottom; this is illustrated by the parkas my Gram Katherine made and Gideon's second wife's fancy parka, as well as Bessie (Barr) Cross's fancy parka, all of which are estimated to have been made in the 1950s or 1960s.

My maternal grandmother, Victoria *Qiinaq* (Wesley) Onalik of Noatak, was born December 28, 1918, and passed away December 11, 2008, at the age of 89 years old (see Figure 16). I was not as close to *Ahna* (meaning grandmother) Victoria as I was with Gram Katherine. This was due to my father taking our immediate family (mother, father, myself, a brother, a sister, and my youngest sister) to Shishmaref every year, during times to gather and hunt our subsistence foods. I do remember being able to travel to Noatak and staying with my older sister Victoria Lynn (Onalik) Norton when the time arose for one of my uncle's funerals. When I asked

my

Figure 16: *Ahna* Victoria (Wesley) *Qiinaq* Onalik of Noatak, Alaska. (personal family photo, late 1970s)

mother about any skin-sewing from my *Ahna* Victoria that may have been sewn and given to my mother, she mentioned when growing up in Noatak, they would have *kammak* for all the children: herself and her siblings. My mother was one of eleven children, with seven brothers and two sisters (she also explained there was another sister, but she passed away very young). My mother spoke highly about my *Ahna* Victoria sewing fancy parkas for my maternal grandfather Herbert Onalik, Sr. (personal communication, 2018). My mother said he would have many different fur parkas and made during different times in their life together.

Other Great-Aunts, Great-Great Grandmothers

There are others in my family tree of who were excellent skin-sewers. In the book *Ublasuan* (United States National Park Service, 1996), my paternal grandfather's sister Fannie Mae (Barr) Goodhope, also was an avid skin-sewer (see Figure 17). She married Fred Goodhope, Sr. from Deering who also had a large reindeer herd. In the photo of her in her fancy parka, I can

tell she wore it with pride, even wearing the parka during the reindeer harvest. As mentioned before, my paternal grandmother Katherine (Gideon's first wife) and grandfather Gideon were actually an arranged marriage, but to note importantly, of two significant reindeer herding families on the Seward Peninsula (United States, 1996). Reading the many stories and experiences my grandfather shared of his time growing up at *Ublasaun* has taught me much about our history of our family. Another resource that I was able to utilize is the Facebook page *Shishmaref Genealogy*, in which descendants of those from Shishmaref share old photos they have to help confirm identities of older generations. By sharing these photos of their activities long ago, mostly from 1920s to 1970s, the many members of this page can help keep memories

Figure 17: Great-Aunt Fannie (Barr) Goodhope, a sister of Gideon Barr of Shishmaref, Alaska, photo taken during the time of a reindeer harvest. (personal family photo, Paul Aloyette, mid-1960s to 1970s)

Figure 18: Photo from *Ublasaun*, Bessie (Barr) Cross (left), Emily *Paizuzruq* (Kiyutelluk) Barr of Cape Espenberg/Kotzebue (middle), and her sister Fannie Mae (Barr) Goodhope of Cape Espenberg/Deering (right), photo taken at Kotzebue, Alaska, estimated mid 1960s to 1970s. (United States National Park Service, 1996)

alive of family as well as learning from one another. In *Ublasaun*, I have also learned about my paternal great-grandmother Emily *Paizuzraq* (Kiyutelluk) Barr, wife of Thomas *Makiaktuk* Barr of Cape Espenberg, who was an excellent skin-sewer (see Figure 18). It led me to search for more information about Shishmaref and skin-sewers, in particular to research my family history, and also to see how many Shishmaref skin-sewers have been mentioned in much of the literature about Iñupiaq skin-sewing.

Times to showcase the hand-sewn or skin-sewn garments are during special occasions, such as the yearly *Qatnut* or Northwest Arctic Trade Fair in Kotzebue. In our family here in Fairbanks, we wear our *kammak* for dance performances, graduations, and for major festivals held here, such as World Indian-Eskimo Olympics or Festival of Native Arts. In sharing our regalia, this showcases the skills of the skin-sewer, as well as highlights the family's observance of desired traits and Iñupiaq values.

Figure 19: Fannie (Kigrook) Barr and her fancy parka (photo by James Magdanz, August 1993). (United States National Park Service, 1996)

Fannie *Kigrook* Barr, my paternal grandfather's second wife, also owned a fancy parka (See Figure 19), one of which my grandfather gifted to her by commissioning another highly experienced skin-sewer from Kotzebue, who was Esther Norton, as noted in *Ublasaun*. Even though Fannie did not sew it herself, the act of commissioning the fancy parka demonstrated the love and devotion my paternal grandfather must have had for his second wife. Seeing her with the fancy parka and sharing her knowledge of the designs in *Ublasaun*, causes me to believe there are so many underlying experiences and actions we cannot envision, unless we know the whole story behind the skin-sewn work.

Third Group – My Extended Family

Part of group three includes my extended family through my husband, and through my father. My husband's cousin Willy *Newpealuke* Topkok and my youngest sister make many different skin-sewn garments to sell. My husband's cousin *Newpealuke* (I will refer to him as his

Iñupiaq name) learned from his grandmother, and even though was encouraged to be an ivory carver at a young age, he liked skin-sewing more, thus breaking the assumption skin-sewing was only a women's tradition. However, if *Newpealuke* was born 50 years earlier, then I am sure he would not have had the freedom to skin-sew items to sell like he does today. *Newpealuke* shared much about his understanding of being Iñupiaq and also shared much about his understanding of Iñupiaq history. He is very proud of his cultural identity, and it is clear he has thought about it for a long time.

In articles about his skin-sewing in the Anchorage Daily News and other newspapers (see Figure 21a), he shares his culture in schools, and is challenging ideas of what it means to be a skin-sewer in contemporary times. In the Chugiak and Eagle River Times, the author of the article shares,

> The importance of hunting was a central theme of Topkok's speech. Because of the region's isolation, he said. Eskimos still must hunt and gather much of their food and clothing. "We still live a subsistence way of life," he said. Topkok showed the students some of his handmade clothing, including watertight rawhide boots, fur-lined parka and mittens designed to stand up to even the coldest temperatures. "We must use everything we hunt," he said. Topkok, who now lives in Anchorage, said he delights in sharing his traditional ways with Alaska students, and he spends much of his time visiting classrooms or teaching Eskimo crafts in Anchorage. "This is how my people live and I love to tell them how we survive and continue to survive," he said. (Tunseth, 2011)

In this passage, one can see the importance of a subsistence lifestyle that is very prevalent across Alaska Native groups today, depending on their location, and availability in food resources. Because Alaska is so big, and the population is relatively small, it becomes important to maintain interpersonal relationships between families and villages through hunting and in trade. *Newpealuke* shared with me he has sewn all kinds of clothing and is not afraid to sew new items (see Figure 21b). In Susan Fair and Jean Blodgett's book *Alaska Native Art: Tradition, Innovation, Continuity* (2006), *Newpealuke's kammak* are highlighted and commented by Fair,

> It is very unusual for Inupiaq men to make sewn objects, although they may make sewing repairs in emergencies. Will[y] Topkok, however, is a man of many talents. In a 1998 interview with Linda Defreese, Topkok said: "I consider myself an Inupiaq Eskimo craftsman, and I do walrus ivory carvings and skin sewing on sealskin and calfskin." For him sewing is relaxing: "It is so easy if you don't have a lot of energy to burn. I can relax and watch TV and sew on a project. Where if I am to work on ivory and do the scrimshaw work, I have to concentrate and do a lot of physical, heavy work. I can get tired. Then I want to do some sewing." In addition to making mukluks, he also makes parkas, hats, mittens, and baby booties, many decorated extensively with beadwork. (Fair & Blodgett, 2006, p. 216)

Figure 20a: Willy *Newpealuke* Topkok presenting at a local Anchorage school. (Tunseth, 2011)

Figure 20b: Willy *Newpealuke* Topkok with examples of his skin-sewing contemporary style in gloves and his regalia (his *atikluk*). (personal photo, June, 2016)

Newpealuke shares much of what he learns through many opportunities in Anchorage in school presentations, and commented to me he is still learning. He does not consider himself an expert, but one who keeps trying and shares what he learns. This trait is evident when I review the literature shared in Fair and Blodgett's work in how *Newpealuke* stood out as a male skin-sewer.

I also met with my father's cousin Mary Sue Anderson, who is my aunt as she is older. Anderson's mother is Bessie (Barr) Cross of Cape Espenberg and Kotzebue (see Figure 21a) and

is my paternal grandfather's sister. Bessie is of the same generation as my paternal and maternal grandmothers, and also learned to skin-sew from her mother Emily *Paizuzraq* (Kiyutelluk) Barr (personal communication, Mary Sue Anderson, June 2016). Bessie is highlighted in *Ublasaun*, as shown in the photo, in which Bessie is wearing her fancy parka. Anderson was able to show her mother's parka to me in June of 2016 in Anchorage and was clearly proud of her mother's work. We looked at the design patterns carefully on her parka. Anderson allowed me to take photographs of the parka (see Figure 21b and Figure 21c). If skin-sewn garments are taken care

Figure 21a (right photo): Bessie (Barr) Cross fishing in Kotzebue, 1950s, featured in *Ublasaun*. (United States National Park Service, 1996)

Figure 21b and 21c (left photos): Details of Bessie's fancy parka of the bottom *qupak* and back of hood. (personal photos, June 2017)

of properly, in the right conditions they can last for decades. However, Bessie's fancy parka had some portions in which were beginning to deteriorate. I grew up visiting my great-aunt Bessie in Kotzebue, and have fond memories of her and her house near the Kotzebue beachfront. In my youth, I did not see Anderson's mother wearing her parka, however, I marveled later when Anderson and I examined her mother's parka and saw such a complicated sewn project. Anderson and I were able to talk about the skins used, the idea of mentorship, and the close relationships between Bessie and her mother, and her sisters (see Figure 18). Even though Anderson does not sew, she still had a lot of pride in her mother's work, and Anderson commented she was impressed with her mother's generation in how they worked so hard being able to produce such fancy parkas.

Another excellent skin-sewer in my family is my great uncle Delbert Eningowuk's wife,

Figure 22: Nellie (Okpowruk) Eningowuk of Shishmaref with husband Delbert Eningowuk. (photo by Katherine *Dollic* Eningowuk, early 1990s)

Nellie (Okpowruk) Eningowuk (see Figure 22), who taught others to skin-sew as well. In *Alaska Native Art* (Fair & Blodgett, 2006), Nellie is described as learning from her mother Mattie Okpowruk of Shishmaref. Their relationship toward skin-sewing reached a friendly competition, where Nellie and her mother, "sometimes tried to outdo each other in creating elaborate costumes [regalia] and exploring traditional forms" (Fair & Blodgett, 2006). Fair also shares about another skin-sewer who states her skin-sewn items "must have a purpose," and does not think that items should be put into display cases. The philosophy of making and creating skin-sewn items must be worn or be useful is a common trait amongst several artists in Alaska (Fair & Blodgett, 2006). When I started to read *Alaska Native Art* more carefully, I saw that my paternal grandmother Katherine Barr was also a mentor, and she thought it was important to teach others in Shishmaref to skin-sew (see Figure 23). On another note, I have inherited finished portions of

Figure 23 (left): Gram Katherine *Koiyuk Ahnaughuq* (Eningowuk) Barr with her niece and grandniece in early 1990s (Fair & Blodgett, 2009)

Figure 24 (right): Detail of calfskin skin-sewing *quli* or *qupak* fancywork by Katherine *Koiyuk Ahnaughuq* (Eningowuk) Barr of Shishmaref, Alaska. (personal photo, 2014)

designwork or fancywork of hers that were not sewn into *kammak* yet (see Figure 24). Inheriting these portions really gave me a sense of the hard work that is put into the fancy designs of the *quli*, and how much time must have been put into completing the calfskin black and white pieces. As I received these after she passed away, I do not know who they were made for, or for what finished piece they would have been part of. In any event, the fine and small details of her sewing makes me think that this was very much a part of her identity, and that she worked hard in completing these projects.

Researching my family of skin-sewers gave me a sense of learning who my matrilineal lineage of women skin-sewers were, and the importance of intergenerational knowledge sharing from mother to daughter or from aunt to niece. I have seen the parka Nellie Eningowuk has sewn and is wearing in Figure 22. Viewing the parka in person makes the sense of sewing real. Fair mentioned that Nellie had persistence and a good nature about her teaching skin-sewing. I can only imagine the level of expertise one must have and patience in how they learned from their own mothers and grandmothers in their lifetime, and from this, pass this way of learning to others.

My great-aunt Flora Weyiouanna has been a mentor to my sister DeeAnn (previously

mentioned), besides my mother and our grandmother Katherine. On one of my trips back to Shishmaref, I witnessed my sister's college course at the Northwest Campus where she learned how to make hard-bottom *ugrulik* (bearded seal crimped soles made into *kammak*, Kobuk dialect). I saw how they took the *ugruk* skin and dried it out flat, learned how to take the hair off, and then cut out and then crimped into hard bottom soles. I could see that my sister was pretty proud at the time knowing she was learning, but the demands of learning also come at a price. My sister commented later, "I don't know if it is a good thing to learn how to make hard bottoms, because once others know I know how to make them, they ask for so many" which meant once she knew how, and others knew, she could not keep up with the demand of orders. It takes time to make them, and there is a long process of tanning, soaking, drying, removing the hair, and re-soaking to get the skins right.

Jill Oakes comments on the Shishmaref's seamstresses' quality of hard-bottom soles and how they were viewed as a trade commodity,

> Shishmaref seamstresses are widely known for their ability to make neatly pleated boot soles. Corrugated pleats (8 to 13 per inch [3 to 5 per cm]) are made with pliers or the dull edge of an ulu. The spring on a pair of pliers is adjusted so that it opens easily after each pleat is pinched…Soles made in Shishmaref are bought by seamstresses throughout this region and into neighboring regions. Students traveling to other communities for basketball games often bring boot soles to sell, creating an interesting intersettlement trade network. Trade fairs and craft buyers also are major contributors to the expansive use of Shishmaref boot soles. (Oakes et al., 2007, p. 85)

Flora Weyiouanna is younger than my paternal grandmother Gram Katherine (Eningowuk) Barr and is of the same generation (see Figure 25). Gram Katherine was fond of me when I was growing up, but I realized Flora also had her way of showing fondness as well. On one of my trips visiting Shishmaref, Flora found out that my husband and I started an Iñupiaq dance group in Fairbanks. On this trip she gave me a pair of slip-on *kammak,* small enough for a young boy about seven or eight years of age. These *kammak* were finely decorated in the front (above the

Figure 25: Great-Aunt Flora *Puniseaq* (Eningowuk) Weyiouanna of Shishmaref. (personal photo, 2014)

toes) as opposed to decorated on the tops (see Figure 26). She wanted to give the *kammak* to me so my youngest son can use them when he Iñupiaq-danced. He was only three years old at the time, and I kept the *kammak* until he could fit them when he got older. It was nice to see that by giving the *kammak* to me, she knew the *kammak* would be used in the manner she intended them to be.

Family Examples of *Kammak*

Proper times to showcase skin-sewn garments are during special events such as Christmas programs at church, weddings, graduations, school holiday celebrations, or even community feasts for Easter. My family in Fairbanks wears *kammak* for dance group performances, as well as for special occasions mentioned above, and during major festivals. During Iñupiaq cultural presentations and performances, we share our knowledge with people as to why we have our skin-sewn garments. The following are examples of *kammak* we have in my family, which some

Figure 26: Detail of *kammak* made by Flora P. (Eningowuk) Weyiouanna of Shishmaref, Alaska. (personal photo, 2014)

can be considered fancy *kammak*.

My mother made my husband, Sean *Asiqłuq* Topkok, fancy *kammak* when she found out that we started an Iñupiaq dance group in Fairbanks. She worked hard on the fancy *kammak* (see Figure 27a and Figure 27b). His *kammak* is made of spotted seal, calfskin *quli*, beaver trim, and has *ugruk* hard bottom soles that were made from great-aunt Flora. He utilizes them for many events and recognizes the honor of being gifted such special *kammak*.

Our sons also wear different *kammak* while performing or presenting in our dance group, or during other parts of their lives. When our middle son was born, he was gifted baby booties (*kammak*), which he wore when he was two and three years old. He learned how to walk on ice and snow with them, and was always careful when he walked, in small short steps as the bottoms of the *kammak* made it slippery on the ice. Then when he was older, he wore a pair of *kammak* Sean and I reworked, which were originally made by Sean's aunt Sara Tweet (family originally from Teller). By the time our two older sons had grown into manhood, we needed to replace the soft bottom leather coverings on that *kammak*. That *kammak* was worn by each son, and eventually had worn out the bottoms by using them during performances as well as playing and walking during these events. We learned that in order to keep our *kammak* from wearing out, we

Figure 27a (left): *Kammak* owned by the Topkok family (left to right, Joseph Bjørn *Aqituaq* Topkok-third son, Sean *Asiqłuq* Topkok (standing), Christopher S. *Akukqasuq* Topkok-first son, and Aaron Kenneth *Misuġnaat Saaŋiaq* Topkok-middle son. (personal photo, November, 2016)

Figure 27b (right): *Kammak* in detail for husband Sean *Asiqłuq* Topkok. (personal photo, n.d.)

only wear them right before a performance, and do not wear them outside in the snow and sidewalks in the city, as this exposure to moisture, sand, gravel, and salt will damage them. We are now in the process of making *kammak* for our five-year old grandson, so he may dress properly for Iñupiaq dance performances. During our presentations in schools or at conferences we explain about our regalia, or proper attire for when we perform. We often explain and allow school children to touch our *kammak* (when appropriate).

In sharing our *kammak* during events, and also wearing them during festivals, we also see other dance groups at the same events wear fancy *kammak.* It is during these events in which we familiarize ourselves with other designs from different parts of Alaska. My beaded hard bottom sole *kammak* are made by my sister DeeAnn S. A. (Barr) Ningeulook (see Figure 28). My sister made my *kammak* after I provided the sealskin, fox fur, and leather. She made the beaded design, *ugruk* hard bottom soles, and sewed the *kammak* for me. I am very proud of her work, since it is more difficutl to find people who make hard bottom soles for fancy *kammak*. Before my great-

Figure 28: Me, Amelia K. (Barr) Topkok, with my fancy *kammak* and dance mittens made by my sister DeeAnn S. *Aanauraq* (Barr) Ningeulook. (personal photo, 2016)

aunt Flora passed away, she would sell a pair of fancy *kammak* for $1,200 to $1,500 (shoe size 11 or 12).

Other items my sister has sewn for us are several pairs of dance mittens we wear during our performances. We were one of the few Iñupiaq dance groups until recently who would wear dance mittens. Dance mittens are fancy mittens with a tuft of balled fur at the tip, which is thought to distract the bad spirits when the women were dancing. The reason why we would dance in traditional times is to thank the animal spirits for giving themselves to us when we had a good hunting season. But in doing so, we would also attract the attention of the bad spirits and they might try to enter into our body through our hands, thus why we wear dance mittens when dancing. I notice now several other dance groups are starting to wear dance mittens at major festivals, instead of simple commercially lightweight gloves. These garments we wear during our

performances may not include fancy parkas, but I feel the garments still represent our Iñupiaq identity.

For my father's *kammak* (see Figure 2 and Figure 29), the detail of decorated *quli* or designwork demonstrates the love and pride given to him through this skin-sewn work. Just for

Figure 29: White reindeer legging *kammak* with calfskin design, beaver trim, bleached sealskin straps, bearded sealskin (*ugruk*) hard bottoms, and felt; made for my father when he was in his late 40's by his mother Katherine K. A. (Eningowuk) Barr. (personal photo, 2014)

the fact that the *kammak* were made from all-white reindeer leggings, a color not common, shows how valued he was for his hunting skills (he no longer hunts) and how his mother must have wanted to show her appreciation to him for him continuing to be a provider of Native food every year. It is estimated that this *kammak* were made in late 1970s, which was the last *kammak* my Gram Katherine made for her son. She still continued to make other skin-sewn garments afterwards, but not any more *ugruk* hard bottom soles.

As a comparison, Ningeulook has also made other *kammak* for my sons. One example illustrates her ingenuity when lacking enough calfskin to make the fancywork at the top (see Figure 30a and 30b). In this example, my sister did not have enough black and white calfskin, so she substituted light- and dark-colored sealskin to finish the fancywork. From a distance, one cannot tell that it is of a different skin, but the idea is the same that the work is done to honor the

Figure 30a and Figure 30b: Detail of *kammak quli* (left) and overview (right) made for Aaron Kenneth *Misuġnaat Saaŋiaq* Topkok, my middle son (personal photo, November, 2014)

wearer and in doing so, represents the Hard Work in the skin-sewing. As we use these *kammak* often in our dance group, we greatly appreciate these and gladly share knowledge about how these *kammak* were made by my family.

Analysis: Common Themes

Several threads or common themes run across those interviewed as well as by observation of familial skin-sewn garments. There is a strong relationship of family members, recognizing Iñupiaq traits and values needed for a healthy wellbeing. The themes are based on several focus-areas: Role of clothing as representing identity, women's narrative, relationships in mentoring, and use of skin-sewn garments to connect with the land and sea. There are many more levels of understanding embedded in my interviews, but for the purposes of my research, I will focus on these main ideas mentioned.

Role of Clothing as Representing Identity

The role of clothing as representing one's cultural identity has been recognized many times in different forms. Cydney Martin (2001), shares the importance of the role of clothing as an expression of many different practices of knowledge within the Iñupiat,

> An investigation into the role of clothing in Inupiaq culture exposes the underlying spiritual, moral, familial and social foundations of Inupiaq subsistence practices and repudiates any assumptions that subsistence is an anachronistic or trivial practice. (Martin, 2001, p. xvii)

When I am dressed in my regalia in getting ready for an Iñupiaq dance performance, I know I must have the proper clothing attire to represent being an Iñupiaq woman. For me this is important, since the garments we wear are still part of the Iñupiaq culture today. Even though I may not skin-sew very much, I have sewn many *atikliuch* (plural of *atikluk*). These *atikliuch*, a traditionally worn hand- or machine-sewn cotton summer shirt or lightweight dress, is a type of regalia worn by my husband, our sons, and myself as well as by our dance group members. I have shared my knowledge of sewing *atikliuch* with many women, either dance group members, or friends and family. My sister wears her *atikluk* to local Shishmaref school events, and my mother wears her *atikluk* to attend church, a village feast, or a graduation, all of which are ways to incorporate the use of special attire to express being Iñupiaq. My sister also made her sons and daughter sealskin hats, mittens, and even fabric-covered parkas, so they can use these in everyday life (personal communication, n.d.). When I talked with my father several years ago, I asked him if he would like an *atikluk*, he said sure. This was a big event for me, since he normally did not wear any during special occasions, and it was an honor to be able to make one for him. It is now widely recognized that many people dress in an *atikluk* for these special events, as well as everyday attire.

Iñupiaq Values in Skin-sewing

When I interviewed the people for my research, we carefully went over the research questions (pp. 62-63). All of the questions were optional as well as open-ended. It was important for the person to be able to talk freely about skin-sewing, Iñupiaq culture, and about activities related to understanding and expressing Iñupiaq cultural identity or values and beliefs. In the question "Do the mukluks or designs mean anything to you? Family values or other?," this was specifically asking about Iñupiaq values. Many of the interviewees agreed that skin-sewn items represented Hard Work, Spirituality, Family Roles, Humility, and Domestic Skills (see Figure 3, Chapter One, NANA, 2016). Tahbone mentioned the skin-sewn items were affirmatively representing these values, as she has thought much about her family's Iñupiaq history. As mentioned previously, Tahbone has a strong tie with her mother and has learned to butcher animals, take care of the skins, and to skin-sew. Meghan *Sigvanna* Topkok agreed that in learning from her mentors Tahbone and Tahbone's mother, the Iñupiaq values were also shared in the process. Both Tahbone and *Sigvanna* are of the same generation, and learned about their Iñupiaq values through different times in their lives, but these values have had a definite impact on their worldviews, and how they see their appreciated skin-sewing. When I considered my sister and my mother who live in Shishmaref, I visualized a cycle of subsistence living, especially when I examined the importance of the seal connected to skin-sewing (see Figure 31). These values are interspersed into the cycle and recognizable within each process featured in how the family hunts, process the animal (for food and skins), and to utilize the skins for garments and other items.

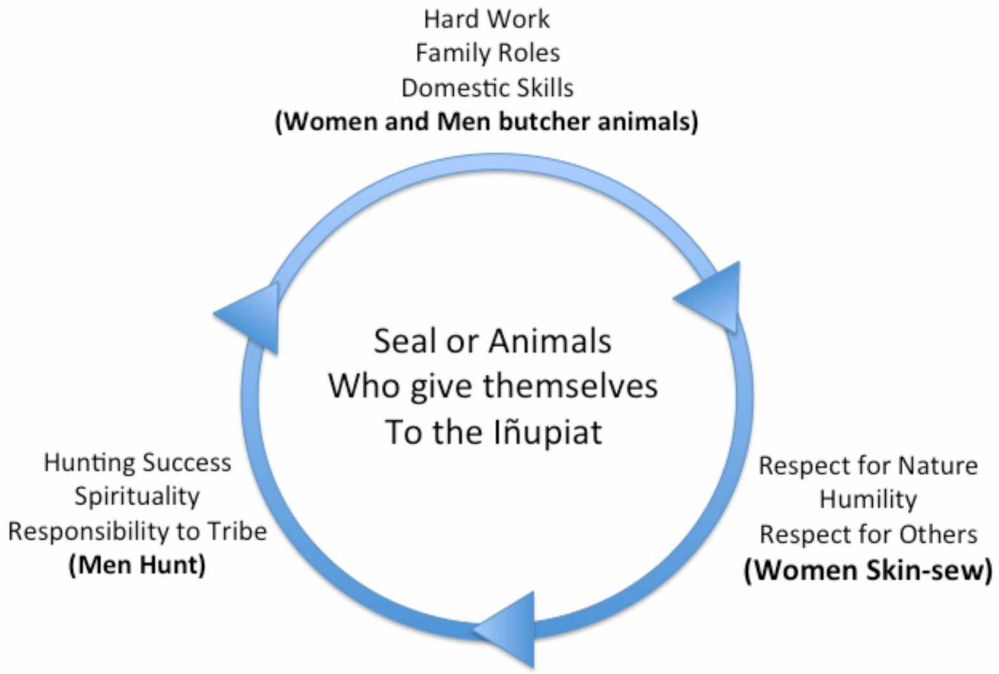


Figure 31: The cycle of Iñupiaq subsistence in relationship to Iñupiaq values, graph created by Amelia K. (Barr) Topkok, 2018. Note: All throughout the process other values are intertwined: Knowledge of Language, Knowledge of Family Tree, Sharing, Cooperation, Respect for Elders, Love of Children, Avoid Conflict, and Humor work at different levels. (Iñupiaq Values from NANA, 2016)

Relationships in Mentoring

Another theme that emerged is recognizing the relationships that exist in a community or family that connect the skin-sewer(s) to family members of all ages. This value of sharing common activities (such as skin-sewing) teaches the younger generation the skills needed to ensure cultural survival. For example, a garment intended as a gift is made for different reasons. My sister shared with me, "[So and so] had a baby in town, and I've been thinking about what to make [for] that baby…" (personal communication, 2018). It dawned on me that my sister has multiple relationships with many people in Shishmaref and in the outlying villages. As a life-long resident of Shishmaref since she was thirteen, her connections with people extend farther than I know, especially since I have been away from home for so long. I think of her as a skin-

sewer and have seen the beautiful work she has sewn, but I forget she is a whole person and there are more layers to her than meets the eye. This reflection fits all those who I have interviewed and looking at literature on Iñupiaq people that has categorized groups as solely skin-sewers is an inaccurate view. We need to recognize each skin-sewer is a whole person with other interests and more relationships than we can imagine. When I started my research in my grandmothers' and great-grandmother's generation of skin-sewing through photos, I can clearly see their relationships with each other, especially when many of the women are photographed together in their fancy parkas (see Figure 18).

Use of Skin-sewn Garments to Connect with the Land and Sea

In the skin-sewn garments shared by my interviewees, there is a definite relationship of the land and sea through understanding the animals being hunted for their skins. Many fur-bearing animals in an Iñupiaq subsistence lifestyle in Alaska include (but not limited to): seal pinnipeds: bearded seal, spotted seal, ribbon seal, wolverine, beaver, wolf, reindeer (but not caribou hides which has hairs that tend to break after being tanned), sea otter, land otter, muskrat, and many others. In Edna Wilder's book, *Secrets of Eskimo Skin Sewing* (1976), animals are mentioned for their furs, as well as used as decorative shapes in skin-sewing. Many are also characters in short stories shared in Wilder's book. My sister works with sealskin, specifically spotted sealskin since it is often available in Shishmaref. I have seen Shishmaref style Christmas decorations decorated with glass beads made in animal and popular Christmas shapes such as seals, ptarmigan, butterflies, stars, Christmas trees, and candy canes.

Summary

I shared my research paper as it was being developed with family members and extended family to gain proper permissions of various photos and to member-check authenticity of my

data. Sharing my paper allowed my interviewees to learn of the history of skin-sewing (my research), and resulted in formulating my analysis sections. I have received helpful feedback in portions of my paper from more than one family member from each group, as well as from my committee and several other faculty at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. I have also received positive comments that this is a very relatable subject, and perspectives from an Iñupiaq point-of-view need to be included in academia. Further results from this project are how my family participated in researching about our familial ancestors from Shishmaref and surrounding areas. In completing a family tree and the exercise of interviewing family members has opened up a new area for me to share with others.

Future Research

My future research may include a closer examination of relationships within skin-sewing that occur village-wide, or occur within existing region-wide networks of family and friends or trading partners. Another possibility is to examine the importance of reindeer herding, how it was introduced to Alaska Iñupiaq families, and the impacts in Iñupiaq culture and societal transformation from a nomadic lifestyle to permanent settlements, from a skin-sewer's point-of-view. The introduction of calf-skin (cow hides) in Iñupiaq cultural garments is another area of research that can be examined. These skins are not Indigenous to Alaska, but are now seen as a staple in decorative geometric designs in fancy parkas or fancy *kammak*. These are just a few areas I did not have time to explore due to time constraints in my master's program.

Final Reflection

It is often said that when we listen to our stories told by Elders, we must listen to them over and over. The stories are imbedded with so many points of understanding, that one cannot understand them all at once. This is the same process I envision when listening to someone

explain why they made their skin-sewn garments or how a person expresses themselves as being Iñupiaq. The value of skin-sewing is so dynamic and fits into a category in Western anthropology in older research, but today's understanding of the Iñupiaq skin-sewer can include so much more. In my research process, I had an idea of researching just *kammak*, but it has evolved into a different research focus. When I found the family photos from different sources of the women in fancy parkas, and correlating it to my personal photos of my immediate family of skin-sewn garments, I found some areas in which are truly lacking in skin-sewing literature. Mentoring of family members and intergenerational learning is a large part of Iñupiaq experiential learning. Member-checking and also sharing my research paper with family members created more perspectives into skin-sewing than I first imagined, for example, learning about the status of Shishmaref and their economic development opportunities (or lack of). Members of my family helped modify my research focus throughout this process and I hope to continue learning and share deeper knowledge in this area in the future.

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Appendix A

Institutional Review Board Approval letter, dated April 11, 2016, IRB # 894654-1

UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA FAIRBANKS

(907) 474-7800
(907) 474-5444 fax
uaf-irb@alaska.edu
www.uaf.edu/irb

Institutional Review Board

909 N Koyukuk Dr. Suite 212, P.O. Box 757270, Fairbanks, Alaska 99775-7270

April 11, 2016

To:	Beth Leonard, Ph.D. Principal Investigator
From:	University of Alaska Fairbanks IRB
Re:	[894654-1] Alaska Inupiaq Skin-sewing Designs - The Voices behind the Skin Sewers

Thank you for submitting the New Project referenced below. The submission was handled by Exempt Review. The Office of Research Integrity has determined that the proposed research qualifies for exemption from the requirements of 45 CFR 46. This exemption does not waive the researchers' responsibility to adhere to basic ethical principles for the responsible conduct of research and discipline specific professional standards.

Title:	Alaska Inupiaq Skin-sewing Designs - The Voices behind the Skin Sewers
Received:	April 7, 2016
Exemption Category:	2
Effective Date:	April 11, 2016

This action is included on the May 4, 2016 IRB Agenda.

Prior to making substantive changes to the scope of research, research tools, or personnel involved on the project, please contact the Office of Research Integrity to determine whether or not additional review is required. Additional review is not required for small editorial changes to improve the clarity or readability of the research tools or other documents.

Appendix B

Informed Consent Form
Iñupiat Designwork through Skin Sewing
IRB # 894654-1 Date Approved: 4/11/2016

Description of the Study:
You are being asked to take part in a research study about your mukluk or *kammak* designs in the Iñupiat culture. You will be asked questions about how these designs are created and are passed down from generation to generation. You have been identified as a person who participates in skin sewing and mukluk design work. This study may help identify cultural activities that support positive ways of earning income within a village, however focuses on stories about skin sewing and how mukluks, and mukluk designs are created. Please read this form and ask any questions you may have before you agree to be in the study.

Risks and Benefits of Being in the Study:
The risks to you if you take part in this study are minimal. If you decide to take part, you will be asked to be interviewed about your work as a skin sewer. I may ask to observe the process of skin sewing and informal conversations as well as interviews. You will be given time at the end of each interview to provide your thoughts and comments. Interview questions include: "what led you to learn skin sewing?", "how you create designs?", and "how do these activities relate to your culture?"

As a participant, you may receive benefits such as education about skin sewing. This study may be beneficial to other Native groups researching creative projects represented through designs. If you would like to review the project in its entirety, it will be housed at the Center for Cross Cultural Studies offices on the 2nd floor of the Eielson Building and also the Rasmuson library.

If you agree, you will also be videotaped or audiotaped using a digital audio recorder or video recorder. These recordings will enable me to review your designs and your explanations, and record any stories that are related to your work. Recordings of others present during these interviews who are not a part of the study will not be analyzed. Only I will listen to any recordings that I make, and I will transcribe the parts that I need, and then erase the recordings after completion of the project. You may request copies of recordings of you for your own use. Additionally, your skin sewing work will be photographed with your permission and I will ask your consent prior using these photos in presentations or publications.

Confidentiality:
Because I am conducting this study as part of my research through the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF), the results will be available to other people. You will have the option to choose anonymity, and if so I will assign a pseudo name (alternate name) if you agree. Any information with your real name attached will not be shared with anyone. This signed release form will be stored securely and separately, making it difficult to link you to this study.
The information gathered from this study could be used in reports, presentations, and publications but you will not be individually identified. All information, including the recordings will be stored and locked at 201 Eielson Building (Cross Cultural Studies). All data will be used

for educational purposes only. The only people who will have access to these recordings will be myself and my graduate committee: Dr. Beth Leonard, Chair, Dr. Alisha Drabek, and Mr. Da-ka-xeen Mehner, and of course you if you so wish for your portions of what you shared. After a five-year period, the recordings will be erased and the photographs and interview notes will be destroyed in a paper shredder.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:
Your decision to take part in the study is voluntary. You are free to choose not to take part in the study or to stop taking part at any time without any penalty to you.

Contacts and Questions:
If you have questions now, feel free to ask. If you have questions later, you may contact myself:

Amelia (Amy) K. Topkok (researcher)
4783 Drake Street
Fairbanks, AK 99709
Phone (907) 322-5346 (cell) or e-mail aktopkok@alaska.edu
Or Dr. Beth Leonard (faculty advisor)
Center for Cross Cultural Studies
University of Alaska Fairbanks
P. O. Box 756730, Fairbanks, AK 99775-6730
Phone (907) 474-7451 or e-mail brleonard@alaska.edu

If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject, please contact the UAF Office of Research Integrity at 474-7800 (Fairbanks area) or 1-866-876-7800 (outside the Fairbanks area) or email uaf-ori@alaska.edu or access website: http://www.uaf.edu/ori/

Statement of Consent
I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been provided a copy of this form. You agree to participate in this study in the specific activities **initialed** below.

_____ I give permission to join in a group meeting AND being recorded.
_____ I give permission to join in a group meeting but NOT being recorded.
_____ I give permission to being recorded while being interviewed.
_____ I give permission for my work to be photographed for this study.
_____ I give permission for my recordings to be shared with the following organization for educational purposes:_____ (*may be revised later*)

_____ _____
Signature and printed name of participant Date

_____ _____
Signature Received by Amelia K. Topkok (researcher) Date

As of 4-7-2016 akt

Appendix C

Master's Defense Powerpoint, dated April 18, 2018

Alaska Iñupiaq Skin-Sewing Designs – A Portal into Cultural Identity

April 18, 2018 from 3-4pm

RSS Gathering Room

Brooks Building

Amelia Katherine *Ahnaughuq* Topkok, B.F.A.

Masters Defense in Cross-Cultural Studies

UAF University of Alaska Fairbanks

Alaska Iñupiaq Skin-Sewing Designs – A Portal into Cultural Identity

Amelia Katherine *Ahnaughuq* Topkok
Partial fulfillment for the Masters degree of Cross-Cultural Studies
University of Alaska Fairbanks
April 18, 2018

Quli or Fancy work design detail, made by Katherine *Ahnaughuq* (Eningowuk) Barr of Shishmaref, Alaska. (personal photo, 2014)

Overview

Mother Minnie E. *Saumik* Barr, with grandchildren in Shishmaref, Alaska – Summer 2016. (personal family photo, n.d.)

- **Overview**
  - Introduction
  - Research Topic
  - History, Challenges
- **Literature Review**
  - Review of Current Literature
  - Insider/Outsider Perspectives
  - Location of Popular Research
  - Who are the Audience?
- **Methodology and Methods**
  - Humanizing the Research
  - Traditions and Values Focus/ Discussion of Need
  - Methods: Interviews, photos, summaries
  - Presentation of Data

Overview (continued)

Nome, circa 1915. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-33100.

Above: Iñupiaq men dancing at a 1915 festival held outside in Nome, Alaska. Notice that since it was relatively warm, there is not a need to wear fancy parkas when dancing, and is more common to still wear fancy *kammak* when dancing in this style. (Shutt, L., Biddison, D. & Crowell, A. L., 2014)

- **Findings**
  - Groups Interviewed
  - Family of Skin-sewers
  - Others/ Extended Family
- **Analysis**
  - Role of Clothing as Representing Cultural Identity
  - Iñupiaq Values in Skin-Sewing
  - Women's Narrative
  - Roles of Mentorship: Relationships in Mentoring

Overview: Introduction

Photo Left: Me (l) when I was seven with my cousin George Ahghupuk (r) in Shishmaref, Alaska. (photo by K. Eningowuk)

- Growing up in Kotzebue and Nome, Alaska.
- High School in Norway- 1987-88
- Reflections of Understanding Cultural Identity

Modified Map from Stern, Arobio, Naylor, & Thomas, 1980

History of Iñupiaq Skin-Sewing

ESKIMO GIRL CRIMPING OOGRUK SOLES *Leon Vincent*

Left: Girl Crimping Hard Bottom Sole (Stuart, 1952)

Bottom: Reindeer & Eskimos – Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska
Anchorage Museum of History and Art, (photographer O.D. Goetz)
Library & Archives, n.d.

Anchorage Museum of History & Art. Library & Archives.

Iñupiaq culture involved survival of using what we had available, and continues today.

History of Skin-Sewing

Above: All in their finery, Fur Rondy couples celebrate in February (1960s) in Anchorage, AK (Anchorage Daily News, 2001).
Right: 780 Pairs of Water Mukluks Sold to the U.S. Army 1896 – 1913, photographer H. G. Kaiser (Rasmuson Library Historical Photo Collection, n.d.)

Alaska Iñupiaq culture needed skin-sewing and later, needed it for different reasons. Outsiders also needed it to survive.

History & Challenges

- Loss of Cultural Identity, knowledge of skin-sewing
- Cash economy today vs. skin-sewing as a necessity long ago

- Younger generational differences of profession choices
- Tourist or Souvenir Art
- Lack of Indigenous Voices sharing different perspectives of skin-sewing

Personal photos taken in Shishmaref, Alaska (2014)

Iñupiat Ilitqusiat

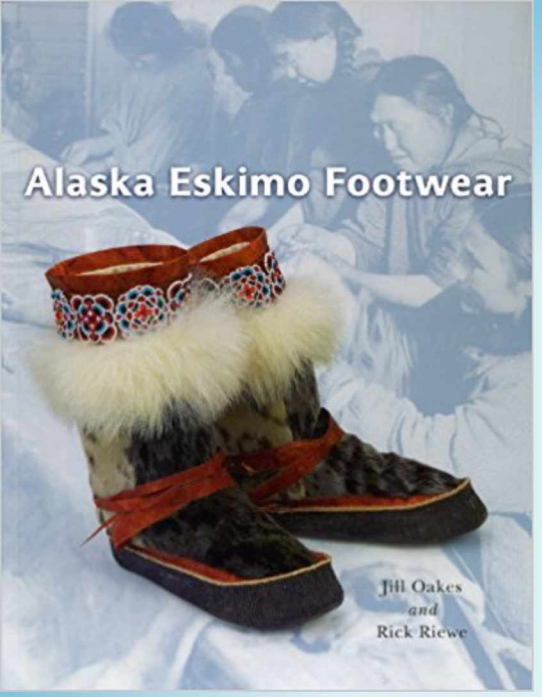
NANA incorporates a core traditional philosophy into all of our corporate actions. This core philosophy is called the Iñupiat Ilitqusiat. Iñupiat – the real people. Ilitqusiat – that which makes us who we are. This philosophy was developed over thousands of years and articulated by the Elders as part of the Spirit Movement of the 1980s. NANA assisted the Elders in capturing the core philosophy. Our work continues today to as we strive to incorporate these values in the way NANA does business and our day to day lives.

Every Iñupiaq person is responsible to all other Iñupiat for the survival of our cultural spirit and the values and traditions through which it survives. Through our extended family, we retain, teach and live our Iñupiaq way of life. With guidance and support from our Elders, we teach our children our Iñupiat Ilitqusiat values.

Our understanding of the universe and our place in it is a belief in God and a respect for all of His creation.

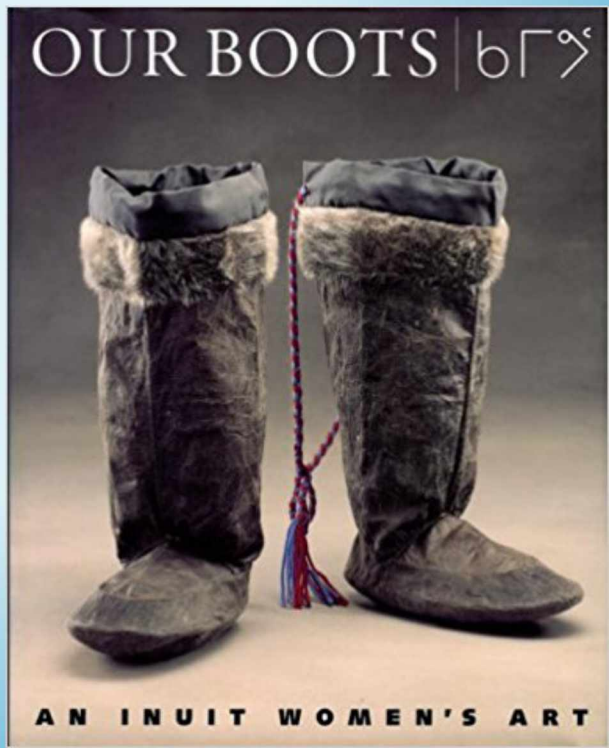
Knowledge of Family Tree	Love of Children	Avoid Conflict
Knowledge of Language	Cooperation	Family Roles
Sharing	Hard Work	Humor
Humility	Respect for Elders	Spirituality
Respect for Others	Respect for Nature	Domestic Skills
Responsibility to Tribe	Hunter Success	

Iñupiaq Values Source: Tennet's Iñupiat Ilitqusiat (1989) and NANA Regional Corporation, Inc. (2016)

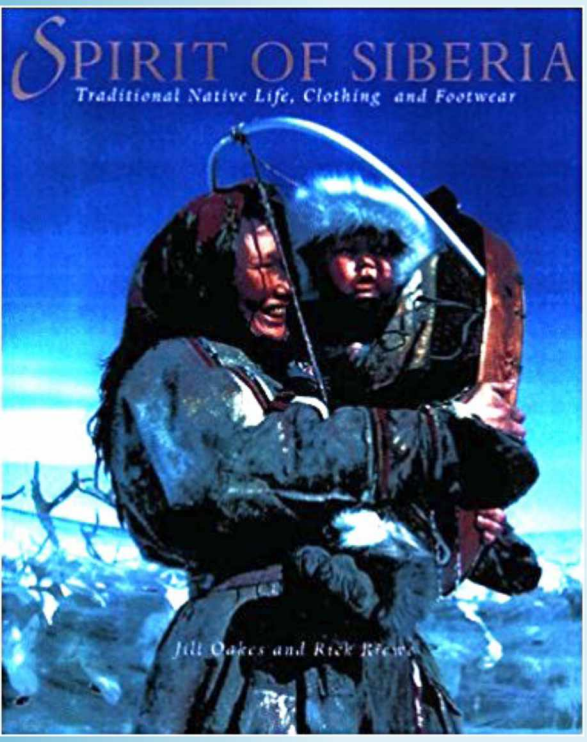


Literature Review Inuit/ Iñupiaq Skin-sewing

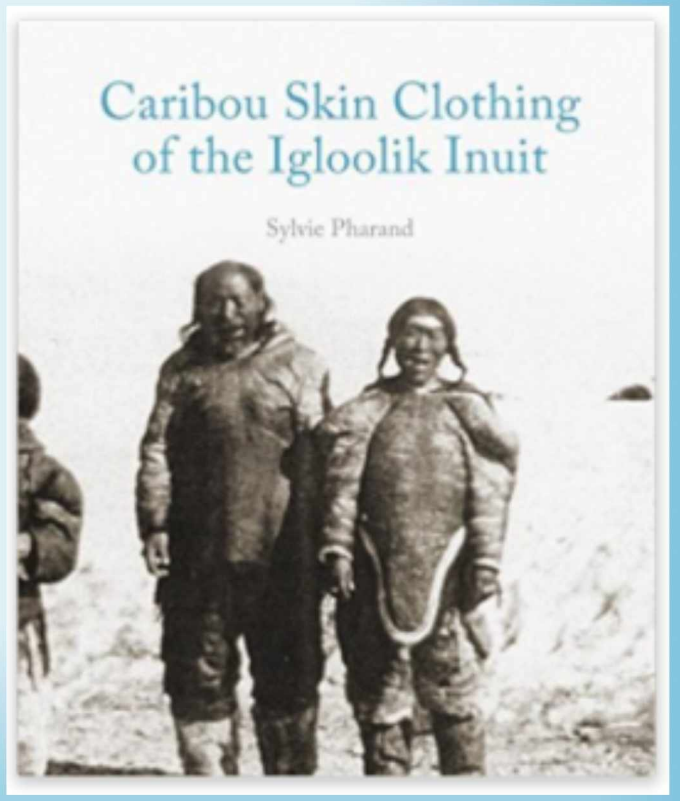
- Review of Available Literature
- Insider/Outsider Perspectives
- Location of Popular Research
- Who are the Audience?



Literature Review on Skin-Sewing



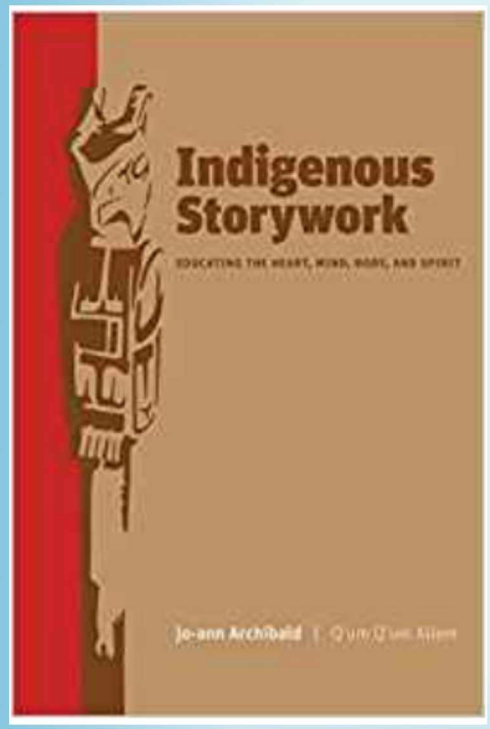
- Decontextualized (taken out of the culture)
- Focus on "constructed of" techniques, materials, regional differences
- Outsiders' perspectives through late 1800s to present



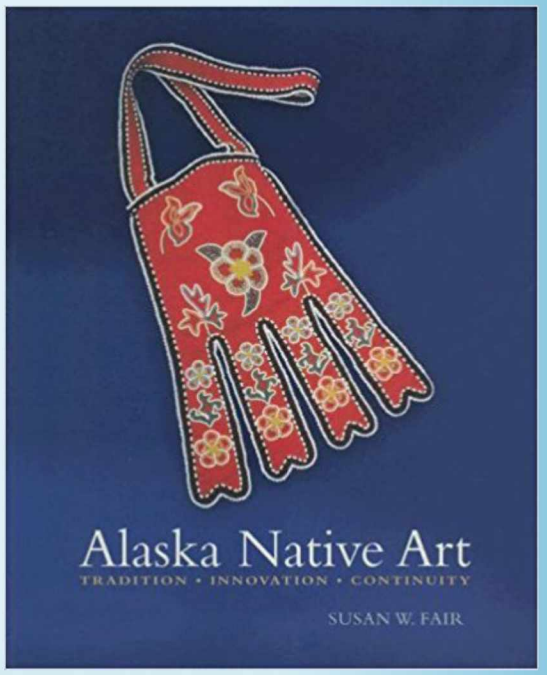
Insider/ Outsider Perspectives

Storytelling As a Tool

Below: Alaska Native Art (2001), written by Fair and Blodgett, is a well written book about many Native artists in Alaska, where many quotes are used, but overall it is still an outsiders' perspective.

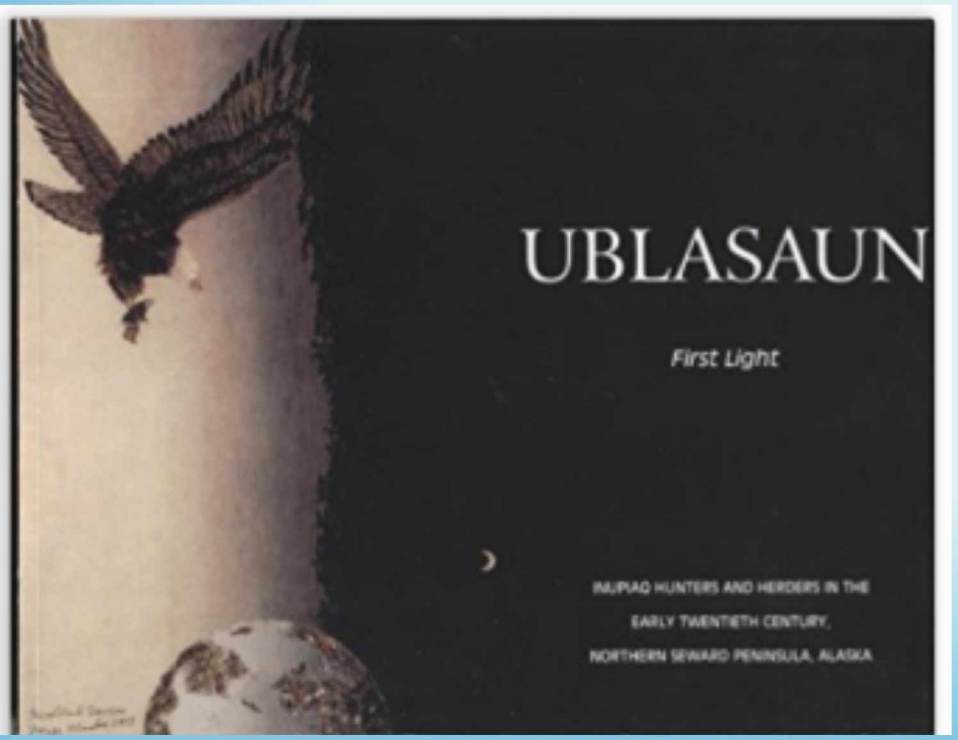


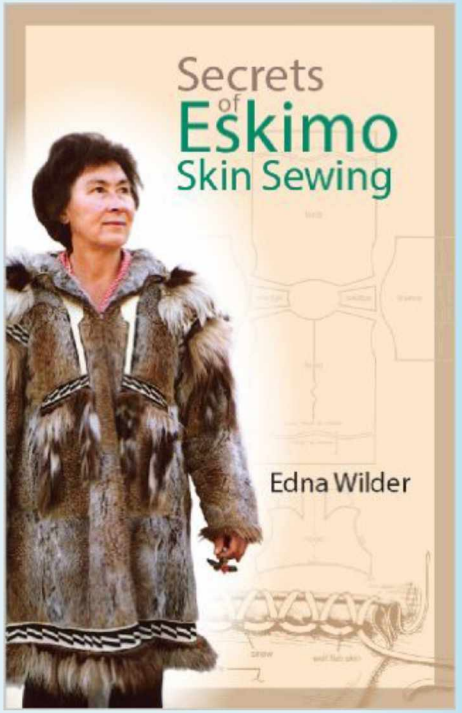
"The issues and the way that we want to deal with the issues – the types of conversations and talks – must be given space for us to fill. This does not mean that non-Native people should be forever excluded from the conversations, only that First Nations people need some space to talk so that we can share our stories in our own way and create discourses based on our Indigenous knowledge systems. Then we can open the conversation for others to join." (p. 18 – 19) Jo-ann Archibald - Sto:lo and Xaxli'p First Nations people – British Columbia, Canada (2008)



Insider/ Outsider Cont. Indigenous Perspectives

Below: Ublasaun (1996), written by National Park Service, had the majority of the book written from interviews and stories from my grandfather Gideon Barr of Deering/ Shishmaref, AK, which his voice was intact. I found out later some (not very many) accounts and labels of pictures were incorrect.





Above: Secrets of Eskimo Skin Sewing (1976), by Edna Wilder, an Iñupiaq from Northern Alaska, describes well many different skin sewn projects. It is the only book that is written from the skin-sewers' perspective.

Methods and Methodology

Methodology:

- Storytelling as a Tool: Value of Iñupiaq storytelling (Unipkaat) to add context to the skin sewing
- Humanizing the Research
- Traditions and Values Focus/ Discussion of Need
- Skin sewing as a healthy activity

Photo: from Fairbanks Daily News Miner (2008)

Methods

- Interviews, IRB Approval
- Observing Cultural protocols, CIPR
- Photos as documentation
- Summaries confirmed with interviewees
- Member-Checking – checking with the interviewees for accuracy by sharing the whole research and not just their part

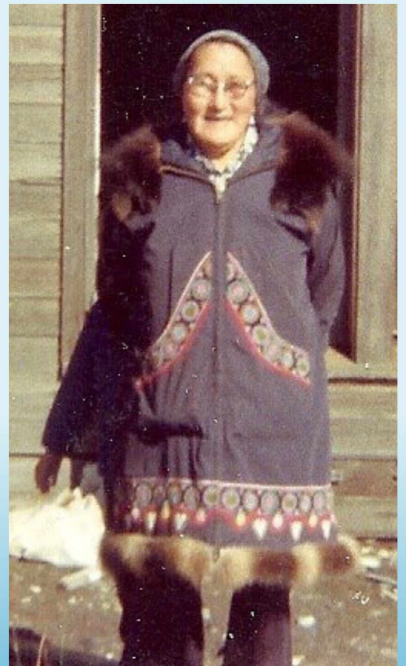
Cultural Heritage
Knowing your Family Tree

Left: My Gram Katherine as a little girl (middle, standing) with her parents Mary and Joseph Eningowuk, Shishmaref, Alaska. Note, little Phillip Eningowuk is packed on Mary's back (Family photo, estimated date 1924-1926).

Right: Great Aunt Flora Weyiouanna (l), Great Uncle Delbert Eningowuk (m), and Grandmother Katherine Barr (r) Shishmaref, Alaska (photo provided by Eningowuk family)

Women in my Family

- Researching Family involves the whole family and do not be afraid to ask, but also be mindful of cultural protocols.
- Use any means available (social media, phone calls, letters, etc.



Full references on photos in last slide

Knowledge of Family Tree

Shishmaref/Deering/Cape Espenberg & Noatak Family Tree*

Emily P. (Kiyutelluk) Barr & Thomas *Makiaktuk* Barr Cape Espenberg (Gideon's parents)

Bessie (Barr) Cross (Gideon's sister) Cape Espenberg/ Shishmaref/ Kotzebue & husband John Cross (bush pilot from outside)

Fannie (Kigrook) Barr (Gideon's 2nd wife) Shishmaref & Gideon Barr (Cape Espenberg/Shishmaref)

Margaret Leona *Mizugngnot* Cross & Cross Noungnak Shishmaref

Mary *Siguganna* Eningowuk & Joseph Eningowuk Cape Espenberg

Mattie Okpowruk (Nellie's grandmother) Shishmaref

Victoria (Wesley) Onalik & Herbert Onalik, Sr. - Noatak

Minnie E. (Onalik) Barr Noatak/Kotzebue/ Shishmaref (one of many children)

Katherine (Eningowuk) Barr Shishmaref & Gideon Barr Cape Espenberg/Shishmaref

Flora P. (Eningowuk) Weyiouanna & Stephen Weyioanna Shishmaref

Delbert Eningowuk & **Nellie (Okpowruk) Eningowuk** Shishmaref

(and many more children)

Delano Barr & **Minnie (Onalik) Barr** Noatak/ Kotzebue/ Shishmaref

Amelia K. (Barr) Topkok - Kotzebue/ Fairbanks & C. Sean Topkok Anchorage/family from Teller/ Fairbanks

DeeAnn S. (Barr) Ningeulook Kotzebue/ Shishmaref & Christopher Ningeulook Shishmaref

- **Note: Those marked in BOLD are skin-sewers.**
- **There are many other relatives not noted here, but this family tree outlines for my purposes the women skin-sewers in my Master's project**
- **Spellings of Iñupiaq names here confirmed with my father Delano N. Barr (personal communication, 2018)**

Women in my Family - Skin-sewers

Ahna Victoria

Great Aunt Flora

Gram Katherine

Mom Minnie

Sister DeeAnn

(Personal family photos – variable dates)

Research Questions

- 1. Where are you from? Where is your family from?
- 2. Do you skin sew? If so, how did you learn?
- 3. Can you describe your items you have sewn? Which items would you say you like the best?
- 4. Are there other cultural activities that you associate skin sewing with?
- 5. If you do not skin sew, do you have experiences of skin sewing by observation of family members or someone close to you?

Research Questions (continued)

- 6. Do you or your family own mukluks, and if yes, do you know if the designs mean anything?
- 7. Do the designs have stories behind them, why they were made?
- 8. How old are the mukluks or designs? Who made them? Are they alive today?
- 9. Do the mukluks or designs mean anything to you? Family values or other?
- 10. Are the mukluks or designs of importance to you and your family?
- 11. Is there a connection of your mukluks or designs with your cultural background? To you?
- 12. Do you have anything else you would like to share with skin sewing?

Willy Topkok Defies Traditional Roles

- Willy's story of how he learned skin sewing
- Teaching today in schools, Alaska Native Heritage Center
- Not afraid to share what he learned

- Sustaining Indigenous Livelihoods – skin sewing still serves the Inupiaq culture and people. The purposes may have changed slightly, but there are still values and personal meanings tied into the skin-sewing.

Photo: Tunseth, 2016, *The Alaska Star newspaper online resource.*

Family Examples of Skin-Sewing

Above: Great-Aunt Bessie (Barr) Cross fishing in Kotzebue, 1950s, featured in *Ublasaun* (United States National Park Service, 1996), and detail photos with daughter Mary Sue Anderson, June 2017;
Right: *Kammak* in detail for husband Sean *Asiqłuq* Topkok made by Gram Katherine K. A. (Eningowuk) Barr and Minnie E. S. (Onalik) Barr (personal photo, 2016)

Delano *Naunaq* Barr's *Kammak*

Made by my *Ahna* Katherine *Ahnaughuq Koiyuk (*Eningowuk) Barr of Shishmaref, Alaska

White reindeer legging kammak with calfskin design, beaver trim, bleached sealskin straps, bearded sealskin (*ugruk*) hard bottoms, and felt. Made for my dad when he was in his late 20's. (personal photos)

The Next Generation

My sister DeeAnn Sophie *Aanauraq* (Barr) Ningeulook (left); and (right) A pair of *kammak* made by her for me. She made these after we started our Iñupiaq dance group in Fairbanks. (personal photos, 2014 and 2015)

The Next Generation

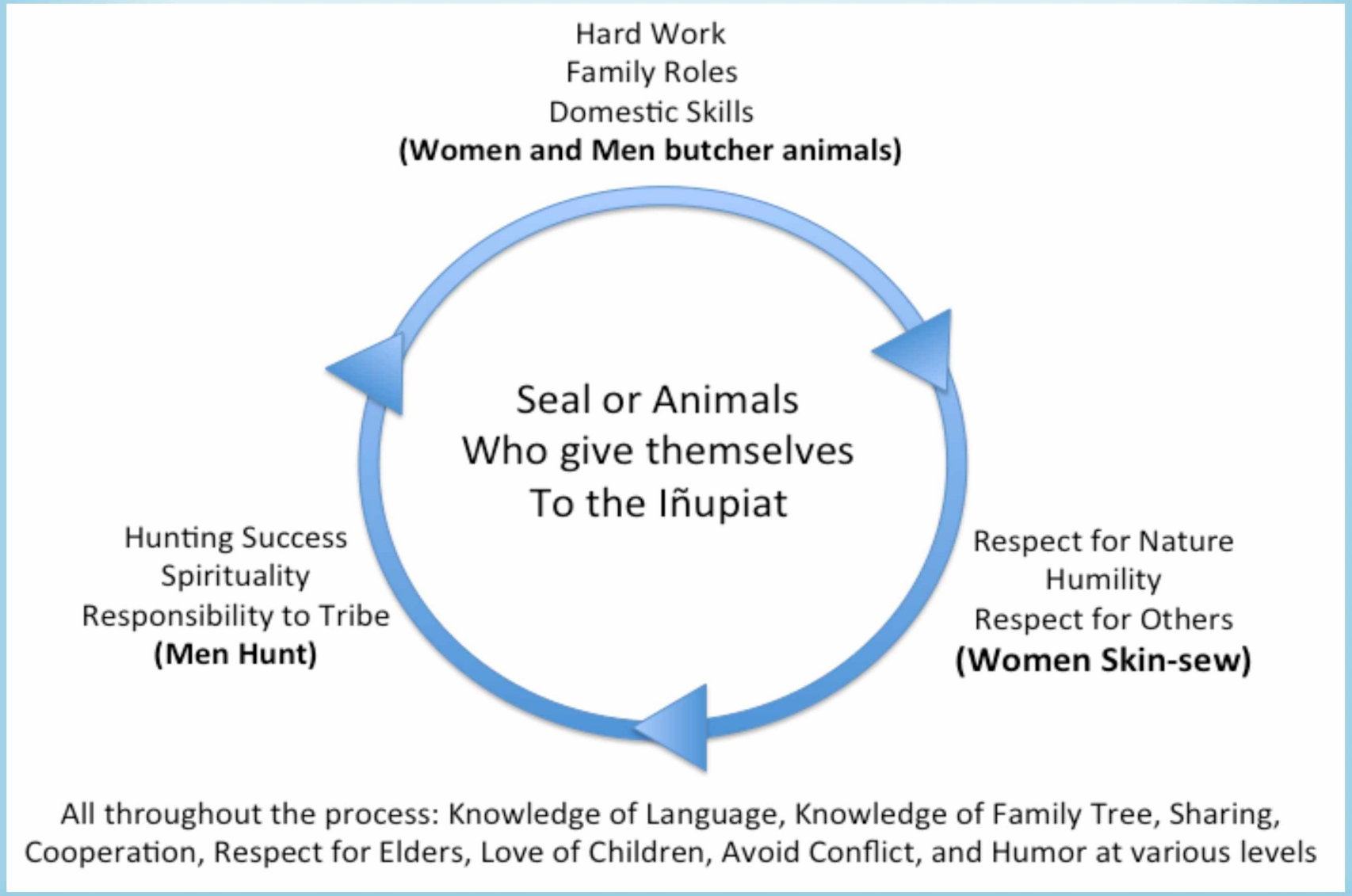
Made by my sister DeeAnn Sophie Aanauraq (Barr) Ningeulook of Shishmaref, Alaska

- Intergenerational Knowledge
- Experiential Learning – Learning by doing
- Ingenuity of available materials
- Mentoring by older family members

Common Themes Of Expressing Cultural Identity

- Role of Clothing as Representing Identity
  - Purpose of the Clothing, i.e. Native Regalia
  - Alaska Iñupiaq Dance performances
  - Everyday wear, skin-sewn mittens, hats, parkas, atikluks
  - Showing Status in the community
  - Use for special occasions, i.e. festivals, weddings, yearly annual gatherings
  - Understanding the context of who, what, where, when and why
- Roles of Mentorship – Life-long relationships

Cycle of Iñupiaq Subsistence in relationship with **Iñupiaq Values**



Graph created by Amelia K. Topkok, 2018.

Conclusions/ Closing Remarks

Any Questions? Suli?

- Cultural values
- Value of adding Iñupiaq context to the skin sewing
- Knowing your family tree, Historical local knowledge
- Skin sewing reinforces our cultural identity
- Presentation of data – possible outcomes
  - Children's books highlighting designs and the skin sewing values behind the garments.
  - Mukluks of WEIO (serve as a fundraiser as well)
  - Share with schools, tribal organizations of summaries with permission of interviewees

List of Photos & References

Slide 1: Detail of calfskin fancywork by Grandmother Katherine K. A. (Eningowuk) Barr. (personal photo, 2014)

Slide 2: Mother Minnie E. *Saumik* Barr, with grandchildren in Shishmaref, Alaska – Summer 2016. (personal photo, 2016)

Slide 3: *Iñupiaq men dancing at a 1915 festival held outside in Nome, Alaska*. Shutt, L., Biddison, D. and Crowell, A. L. (2014). *Listen and Learn: Iñupiaq Language and Culture Video Lessons*. Smithsonian Libraries: National Museum of Natural History Department of Anthropology Arctic Studies Center and Anchorage Museum of History and Art. Retrieved from https://naturalhistory.si.edu/arctic/html/sharing-knowledge-alaska/SharingknowledgeAK_Inupiaq.htm

Slide 4: Left: Me (l) when I was seven with my cousin George Ahghupuk (r) in Shishmaref, Alaska. (photo K. Eningowuk, 1977)

Right: Modified Map of Seward Peninsula, Northwest Alaska. Villages or specific locations of interest include, but not limited to: Kotzebue, Noatak, Teller, Shishmaref, and Cape Espenberg (Stern, R.C., Arobio, E.L., Naylor, L.L., and Thomas, W.C., 1980).

Slide 5: Left: *Girl Crimping Hard Bottom Sole*. Stuart, A. (1952). *The Alaska calendar for engagements*. Fairbanks, AK: Hastings House, Publishers, Inc.

Bottom: *Graphic photo: Reindeer and Eskimos at Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska*. Alaska Anchorage Museum of History and Art. (n.d.) (photographer O.D. Goetz) Library & Archives. Retrieved from http://vilda.alaska.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/cdmg2/id/2526/rec/1

Slide 6: Above: *All in their finery, Fur Rondy couples celebrate in February (1960s)* in Anchorage, Anchorage Daily News. (2001). *Our Alaska: A pictorial history of the Great Land and its people*. Anchorage, AK: Jacob North Printing.

Right: *780 Pairs of Water Mukluks Sold to the U.S. Army 1896 – 1913,* photographer H. G. Kaiser (Rasmuson Library Historical Photo Collection, n.d.)

Slide 7: Personal photos of tundra and fence in Shishmaref, Alaska (2014 and 2015)

Slide 8: Iñupiaq Values Sources: Tennant, E. (1989). *Lore of the Inupiat: The elders speak: A guide for teachers - utuqqanaat uqaaqtuaqtut: Uqaaqtuangich Iñupiat.* Kotzebue, AK: Northwest Arctic Borough School District.

NANA Regional Corporation, Inc. (2016). *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat: values and traditions. Kotzebue, AK: NANA Regional Corporation, Inc.*: online website. Retrieved from http://nana.com/regional/about-us/mission/values/

Slide 9: Oakes, J. E., Riewe, R. R., & Apatiki, L. (2007). *Alaska Eskimo footwear*. Fairbanks, AK: University of Alaska Press.

Oakes, J. E., & Riewe, R. R. (1996). *Our boots: An Inuit women's art*. London: New York.

King, J., Pauksztat, B., & Storrie, R. (2005). *Arctic clothing.* London: British Museum.

List of Photos & References (cont.)

Slide 10: Oakes, J. E., Riewe, R. R., & Bata Shoe Museum Foundation. (1998). *Spirit of Siberia: Traditional native life, clothing, and footwear.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
Pharand, S., & Otak, L. (2012). *Caribou skin clothing of the Igloolik Inuit.* Iqaluit, Nunavut: Inhabit Media.

Slide 11: Archibald, J. (2008). Indigenous storywork: Educating the heart, mind, body, and spirit. Vancouver: UBC Press.
Fair, S. W., & Blodgett, J. (2006). Alaska Native art: Tradition, innovation, continuity. Fairbanks, AK: University of Alaska Press.

Slide 12: United States National Park Service. (1996). *Ublasaun: First light: Inupiaq hunters and herders in the early twentieth century, northern Seward Peninsula, Alaska*. Anchorage, AK: National Park Service, Alaska System Support Office.
Wilder, E. (1976). Secrets of Eskimo skin sewing. Anchorage, AK: Alaska Northwest Pub. Co.

Slide 13: Photo of my two older sons Christopher S. *Akukqasuq* Topkok and Aaron Kenneth *Saaniaq Misugnaat* Topkok performing at Festival of Native Arts from Fairbanks Daily News Miner (2008)

Slide 14 no photo (Methods)

Slide 15: Left: My Gram Katherine as a little girl (middle, standing) with her parents Mary and Joseph Eningowuk, Shishmaref, Alaska. Note, little Phillip Eningowuk is packed on Mary's back (Family photo, estimated date 1924-1926).
Right: Great Aunt Flora Weyiouanna (l), Great Uncle Delbert Eningowuk (m), and Grandmother Katherine Barr (r) Shishmaref, Alaska (photo provided by Eningowuk family)

Side 16: Top left: My Gram Katherine Barr of Shishmaref, in her fancy parka (photo by Steve Dahl, Lutheran pastor, late 1980s or early 1990s)
Top right: Photo from *Ublasaun*, Bessie (Barr) Cross (left), Emily *Paizuzruq* (Kiyutelluk) Barr of Cape Espenberg/ Kotzebue (middle), and her sister Fannie Mae (Barr) Goodhope of Cape Espenberg/Deering (right), photo taken at Kotzebue, Alaska (United States National Park Service, 1996).
Bottom left: *Ahna* Victoria (Wesley) *Qiinaq* Onalik of Noatak, Alaska (personal family photo, probably late 1970s.)
Bottom right: Great-Aunt Fannie (Barr) Goodhope, a sister of Gideon Barr of Shishmaref, Alaska, photo taken during the time of a reindeer harvest (personal family photo, Paul Aloyette, n.d.)

Slide 17: Personal photo of Shishmaref near the airport and the seal racks (2015).
Family Tree of selected members representing the matrilineal lineage of skin-sewers from Kotzebue, Noatak, Shishmaref, and Cape Espenberg. Note: those in bold are skin-sewers. Created by Amelia Katherine Ahnaughuq (Barr) Topkok (2018)

List of Photos & References (cont.)

Slide 18: (Left to right): *Ahna* Victoria (Wesley) *Qiinaq* Onalik of Noatak, Alaska (personal family photo)
My mother Minnie Esther *Saumik* (Onalik) Barr of Kotzebue/Shishmaref, Alaska. (Personal photo, 2013)
Great-Aunt Flora Puniseaq (Eningowuk) Weyiouanna of Shishmaref (personal photo, 2014)
My sister DeeAnn Sophie Aanauraq (Barr) Ningeulook of Shishmaref, Alaska (personal photo, 2014) and Gram Katherine *Koiyuk Ahnaughuq* (Eningowuk) Barr of Shishmaref, Alaska (personal photo, early 1990s)

Slide 19: no photos (Research questions p. 1)

Slide 20: no photos (Research questions p. 2)

Slide 21: Willy Newpealuke Topkok presenting at a local Anchorage school. Tunseth, M. (Dec. 12, 2011). Subsistence speech wows science class. The Alaska Star: Online resource. Retrieved from http://www.alaskastar.com/community/2011-12-14/subsistence-speech-wows-science-class#.WqRu3GaZNxQ

Slide 22: Left: Great-Aunt Bessie (Barr) Cross fishing in Kotzebue, 1950s, featured in *Ublasaun* (United States National Park Service, 1996) and later I found out featured as a postcard.
Top Middle and Right: Detail of Bessie's fancy parka: back of hood and *qupak* or bottom design of parky (personal photos, June, 2017)
Bottom right: Personal photo of my husband Sean *Asiqluq* Topkok's kammak made by mother Minnie E. *Saumik* Barr, with my Gram Katherine Barr of Shishmaref, showing collaboration and intergenerational knowledge and cooperation.

Slide 23: Left: personal photo of *kammak* made by my Gram Katherine *Koiyuk Ahnaughuq* (Eningowuk) Barr of Shishmaref, Alaska.
Right: Detail of the fancywork at the top of the kammak.

Slide 24: Left: My sister DeeAnn Sophie Aanauraq (Barr) Ningeulook of Shishmaref, Alaska (personal photo, 2014)
Right: Personal photo of fancy beaded kammak made for me from my sister DeeAnn S. A. (Barr) Ningeulook

Slide 25: Left: Personal photo of detail of kammak made by my sister DeeAnn S. A. (Barr) Ningeulook for my middle son Aaron K. S. M. Topkok. Notice detail of fancywork made out of dark and light sealskin.
Right: Personal photo of kammak made by my sister DeeAnn S. A. (Barr) Ningeulook

Slide 26: no photo (Common Themes of Expressing Cultural Identity)

Slide 27: Graph of Cycle of Iñupiaq Subsistence in relationship with Iñupiaq Values, created by Amelia K. A. (Barr) Topkok (2018)

Slide 28: Personal photo of me (2017).